

No. 2

PAGE

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No. 2

Stake-Circles in Turf Barrows: a record of excavation in Glamorgan, 1939-40

By SIR CYRIL FOX, Ph. D., V.-P.S.A.

THE three Barrows described in this paper are in the northern part of Llantwit Major parish in the Vale of Glamorgan. Being nameless, they are defined by (a) the nearest farmstead, and (b) the height of their crests above O.D. The work of excavation was begun on 5th December 1939 and finished on 25th February 1940. It was thus carried out during the severest winter weather of modern times. Alternations of frost and thaw played havoc with sections and floors, and prolonged delays ate into the time available. Thus in many respects the effects were irremediable, and the record suffers.¹

My wife collaborated with me in the field during the greater part of the work; she was responsible for the sorting and recording of the finds, and has helped me with the report. Mr. and Mrs. P. Murray-Thriepland gave much appreciated help, as have my colleagues in the National Museum. Reports by Mr. L. F. Cowley on the Human Remains and by Mr. H. A. Hyde on the Plant Remains are appended, and their conclusions are utilized in the text.

The two 'Sheeplays' barrows (Sheeplays 293' and 279') are on a crest line as viewed from the margins of an adjacent marshy flat

¹ The writer started without experience of excavation under such conditions. In a frost, for example, a floor cannot be studied for stake-holes or other features: the conditions destroy colour-contrasts. In a thaw the floor (with its stake-holes) comes away on one's boots. Vertical sections disintegrate and collapse. The only way to deal with the difficulty that he could discover was to examine and record all floors, faces, or deposits *immediately* on exposure. But the limitations which this imposes on the study of difficult problems are obvious.

(fig. 1) where strong springs rise, and the third, Six Wells 267', is close to the marsh. This haunt of wildfowl appears to have determined the settlement of the folk who built the group of barrows of which our three form part.

All were excavated on the same method. The cardinal points having been determined, 3- or 4-ft. trenches were laid out in each quadrant and opened up to the presumed centre of the barrow:

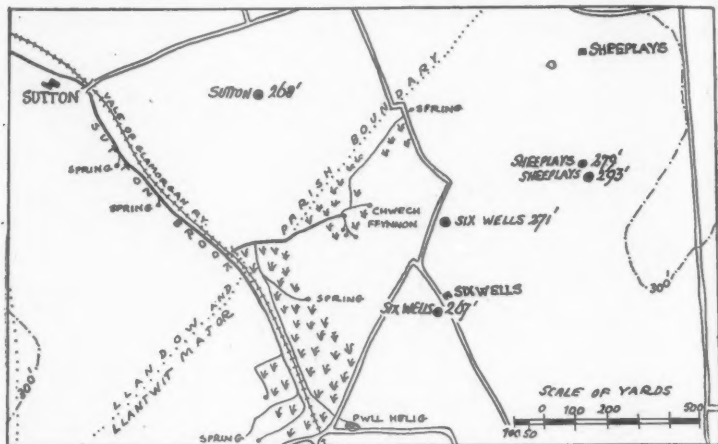


FIG. 1. Map of the district

this is one of Van Giffen's methods, and a satisfactory one, because it gives at one and the same time two complete cross-sections.¹ After these sections had been recorded, the central area was explored to the extent required: thereafter any work needed on the margins of the barrow was carried out.

The three barrows are alike in having been heavily ploughed down. They proved to be structurally similar: the most elaborate, Sheepplays 293', will be considered first, a course which will permit summary treatment of the others. The plans and sections of the barrows are strictly comparable, being on the same scale throughout.

SHEEPPLAYS 293'

Argument. Around a primary cremation burial of the Middle Bronze Age was a series of concentric circles of stake-holes. Within the structural frame which these holes imply a turf-stack of peculiar form was erected. Subsequent to partial collapse, a

¹ Sheepplays 279' shows a slight variation on this procedure.

casing of soil was heaped up against the stack, completing a structure of which the basal portion survives to-day.

The barrow structure will first be described, because the evidence for the stake-holes cannot be understood without reference to it.

The Turf-stack

The central portion of the barrow (below the plough-soil) was

PRIMARY BURIAL, SHEEPLAYS 293'

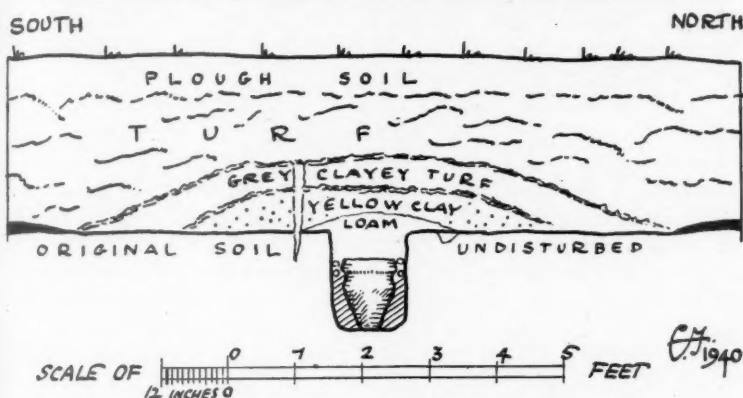


FIG. 2. Section through burial hole, and dome and barrow thereover

composed of clayey turf, grey and orange and black, of the same character as that seen in Pond Cairn.¹ The plan (pl. xxvi) and sections (pl. xxix) indicate its contours and area; it is clearly seen in the background of pl. xix, a. But the deposit differed from that at Pond Cairn in showing on the margins and on the original ground-level larger masses of grey-blue clay (seen in pl. xxii, a as white patches); this may have been in order to give greater stability to the structure. Neither grey clay nor the orange and black layers have any parallels in colour in the neighbourhood; the soil here is loamy, grading downwards into yellow or purple-yellow lias clay, the lias rock having been demonstrated at -6 ft. But, as Dr. F. J. North has shown in another context,² the appearance of such turf-stacks is due to changes taking place subsequent to their erection; they are physically identical with the

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, 'Two Bronze Age Cairns in South Wales', by Cyril Fox, pp. 129-80, esp. p. 145.

² In an Appendix to a forthcoming paper in *Arch.* vol. lxxxix, by the present author.

adjacent soil and subsoil. Our turf-stack, then, is of local origin.

As the plan shows by means of stippling, the stack was approximately circular, with two curved wings on the south side. The main mass is steep-walled—wellnigh vertical on the south side (section AA', pl. xxix)—while the curved wings are low; indeed at their tips they fade out almost imperceptibly. Section BB' shows one wing near its tip, the other near its point of mergence with the main mass; the difference in height is striking. At the tips the wings are structurally separate from the mass—that is the gap, filled by soil, extends to the original ground-level, in future called the floor of the barrow. The wings, like the margins of the stack, are very clayey.

It will be noticed that the sections record a layer of hard-pan under the turf-stack. This is a ferric concretion normally occurring in the turf barrows of the Vale of Glamorgan, deposited at any level in the structure which has been rendered (by constant treading?) comparatively impervious to the seepage downwards of water impregnated with iron oxide. The deposit is usually on the floor of the barrow—as in the present case. The thickness of the hard-pan in general seems to be directly related to the mass of the turf-stack; here it was unusually thick, 2–3 in. in places, needing a blow of a pick to break it (it resembled decayed iron plating!). That the stack was originally a high one is thus probable. By contrast, the hard-pan was very thin under the curved wings, and was a mere orange stain near their tips.

The Casing of Soil

A peculiar feature on the northern margin of the turf-stack demands attention. The face was very irregular, patches of turf being intermingled with soil (fig. 3, left), very unlike the clear-cut face seen on the south side. The hard-pan ceased abruptly well within this irregular turf-face, and this leads us to a satisfactory explanation. A partial collapse of the stack took place in this segment before an addition was made to the barrow, but the fallen turf was not sufficient in bulk to create hard-pan.

The addition was a casing of soil—a loamy deposit with occasional lias pebbles—evidently material obtained from the immediate locality; it butted up against the turf-stack everywhere, and covered the wings and the hollows between wings and stack (sections AA' and BB', pl. xxix). It faded upwards into plough soil and in places was very difficult to recognize as an artificial layer; only after long study of the cross-sections under varying

conditions was it possible to determine with certainty the outer limits of the casing and therefore of the barrow.¹ This measured 64 ft. in diameter from east to west; and 66 ft. from north to south.

The Stake-circles

Examination of the floor of the north trench disclosed three rows of stake-holes regularly disposed; the discovery was followed up, a large area of the barrow being cleared to the floor, and the existence of four rings of such holes, approximately circular and concentric, demonstrated (plan, pl. xxvi).

It was found that these circles were roughly 18, 28, 38, and 48 ft. in diameter, and these mnemonics are for convenience applied to them.² Pl. xx, *a* shows two of these circles in the north-west quadrant, marked by white pegs. A characteristic and completely examined circle, the '28-ft.', will be described and the others discussed only in so far as they vary from this.

The '28-ft.' Circle (range of diameters 26 ft. 9 in.—28 ft. 9 in.) is entirely within or on the edge of the turf-stack, where the floor of the barrow is covered by hard-pan (p. 100). On the floor being scraped, a circular ring is seen, dark brown to black or orange on the periphery and of various colouring in the centre. This centre is usually the grey-blue of the clayey element in the turf-stack which on the decay of the stakes had slipped into the hole. Frequently the hole remains unfilled in the centre, as is shown in pl. xxi, *a*; such holes are outlined by dense hard-pan and seem to represent the diameter of the stake after peripheral decay had set in.³

To uncover this circle once the approximate radius was known proved a mechanical task, the workmen being greatly assisted by the comparative regularity of the spacing of the holes (see plan, and pl. xx, *b*). In the south-western quadrant, for example, the distances from centre to centre of 7 stake-holes in succession was exactly 17 in.; the eighth and ninth stake-holes were 16 in. apart. In the north-eastern quadrant of the circle the distances

¹ A ditch surrounding the barrow was searched for by extending the north-south trench in both directions, but no satisfactory evidence of such was obtained.

² For range of diameters, see Appendix I, p. 123.

³ Stake-holes of exactly this character '3-4 inches in diameter outlined by a ring of oxide-impregnated soil' and '8 inches to a foot deep' were found by H. Noel Jerman in a barrow on Caebetin Hill, Kerry, Mont., in 1931 (*Montgomeryshire Collections*, 1932, pp. 176-81). The circle was 17 ft. 4 in. to 19 ft. 6 in. in diameter; there were 36 holes, from 15 to 32 in. apart. From the fragmentary remains of B.A. pottery the present writer judged the barrow to 'be contemporary with the first phase of the overhanging-rim urn'.

from centre to centre of the 18 stake-holes varied from 12.5 in. to 18.5 in. The average of 26 such measurements in this circle is 15.61 in.

The stakes were certainly driven in, for no disturbance of the soil was detected outside the ring described above. The subsoil here is very yielding in wet weather, and in such conditions no difficulty would be experienced in driving 3-3½-in. stakes from 10 to 12 in. into the ground—which is the range of depth of the holes in the 28-ft. circle which were tested.¹

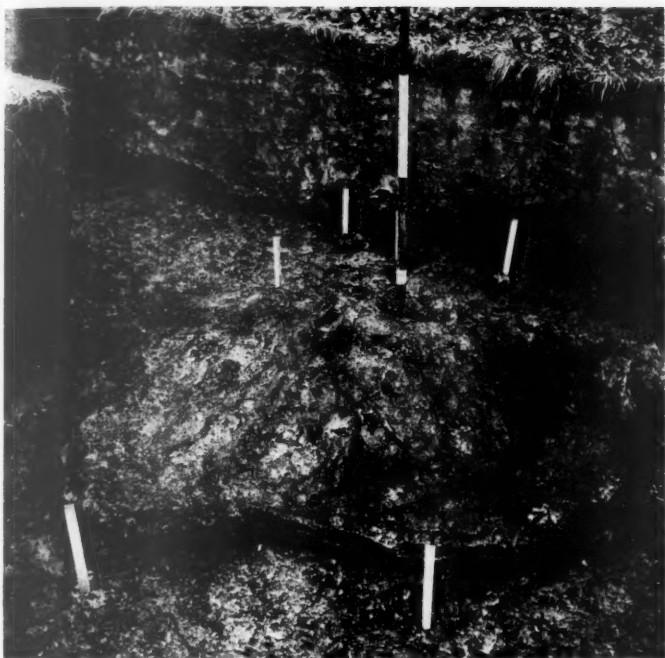
The evidence for the stakes of the 28-ft. circle is not confined to the floor of the barrow. In the northern half a black, orange and brown 'pipe' was frequently seen to extend upwards from the floor to the top of the turf-stack, and indeed was faintly traceable in the overlying plough soil 1 ft. 9 in. or more above the original ground-level. Sometimes a cylinder representing a section of the stake thus transformed detached itself from the workman's spade. We note then that this circle of stakes was at least 2 ft. high, and that it was in position when the turf-stack was built.

It will be observed on the plan (pl. xxvi) that the circle coincided with the southern face of the turf-stack and with the notch between it and the wings. This face and the inner slope of the notch were continuously stained with a thick layer of orange and black coloration along the line of the holes. The stain is known to have extended on the east side beyond the notch—that is a full half of the circle—and it was there vertical. In both sections, AA' and BB', the position of the stained slope is shown; but, as will be observed (pl. xxix), it was not noticed in the face of the north trench.

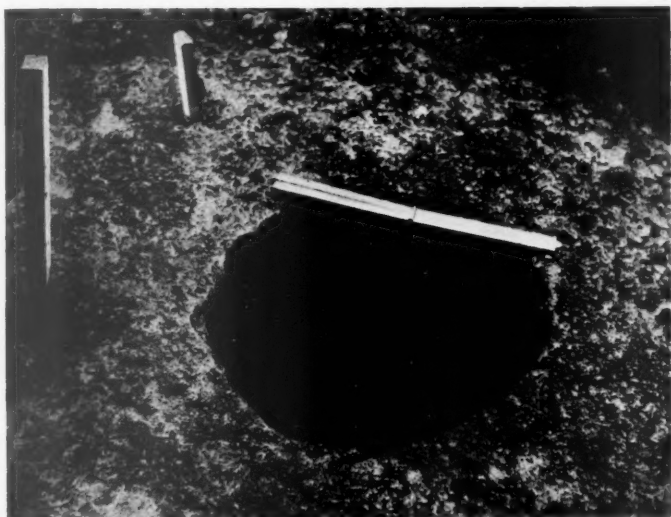
It was noted in certain places in the northern quadrant of the circle that the distance between the stakes was exactly the same high-up as on the floor, which suggests that there was some sort of lateral tie—probably an interlacement. For no such rigid parallelism in comparatively slender stakes, driven into the ground, would be possible unless they were thus held. The orange-and-black staining described above should, then, represent close-hurdling or wattle-work. It may be taken as certain that there was no gap or entrance in the circle; 57 holes out of an estimated total of 64 were plotted, the 7 not examined being under unexcavated balks.

One more point remains to be noted: that while the hard-pan was level outside the 28-ft. circle, it was here and there irregular within it. When these raised patches and knobby lumps of pan

¹ The holes in the photograph (pl. xxi, a) are 2½ × 2½ in. and the stained circles, probably the size of the stakes, 3½ × 3½; the depth of the holes is 10 in. or more.



a. Sheeplays 293': 'dome' over primary burial. The turfy structure of the barrow is seen in the background



b. Sheeplays 293': primary burial: the urn before removal



a. Sheepplays 293': the 28-foot and 38-foot circles, NW. quadrant.
The ranging pole on right marks the primary burial



b. Sheepplays 293'. The 28-foot circle of stake-holes, and the high-level revetment stakes: NW. quadrant

were broken through, grey turf-like deposits, similar to but lighter in texture than the turf-stack itself, were seen on the ancient surface; these it was which caused the irregularities, for on them the hard-pan had been formed (see section AA', pl. xxix).

The '38-ft.' Circle (range of diameters 37 ft. 11 in.—40 ft. 4 in.) will next be considered. This circle is similar to the 28-ft. circle in the dimensions of the stakes and the depth to which they are driven. It was almost completely uncovered, 79 stake-holes out of an estimated total of 96 being plotted. The spacing of the stake-holes is remarkably even; 66 measurements from centre to centre of the holes were taken, the extreme range of variation being 7 in. (11 in. to 1 ft. 6 in.). The average distance between the stakes works out at 1 ft. 3 in. No staining of the turf-stack indicative of wattling between the stakes was observed. It will be seen on the plan that while the northern half of the 38-ft. circle comes within the area of the turf-stack the southern half is outside it. Here, then, there was no staining or hardening of the soil composing or ringing the stake-hole as is the case where hard-pan is present; and only the closest scrutiny of the probable alignment enabled the holes to be found. When found they showed as a darker and softer patch in the yellowish undisturbed original surface of the ground; more frequently, the small cylindrical holes themselves of the stakes (attenuated by decay?) still survived not only in the floor but up to a foot or more above the ground! Indeed, in the south-east quadrant of this circle excavation to floor-level was not necessary, for the vertical holes appeared in the barrow structure at regular intervals on the correct radius.

The '48-ft.' Circle (range of diameters 48 ft. 7 in.—48 ft. 11 in.)¹ was detected because on the north side it was near enough to the turf-stack for a few holes to be iron-stained (section AA', pl. xxix). Assuming that it was another circle, its radius was measured and clearing along its probable line began; confirmation was obtained through the occasional appearance of a vertical hole in the barrow, and soft dark circular stains on the floor at regular intervals. These were only 1 to 1½ in. in diameter, and the circle must have been of wands rather than of stakes. The determination was ultimately certain; but had not those two iron-stained holes been found,² the sustained and close examination needed to prove a fourth circle would never have been initiated.

Twenty-five measurements from stake-hole to stake-hole in the

¹ The range is probably greater than these figures suggest; only a small portion of the circle was proven.

² By Mrs. P. Murray-Thriepland; they were indeed the first holes to be located in the barrow.

circle were taken; the extreme variation was from 1 ft. 2 in. to 1 ft. 6 in. and the average interspace 16.0 in.

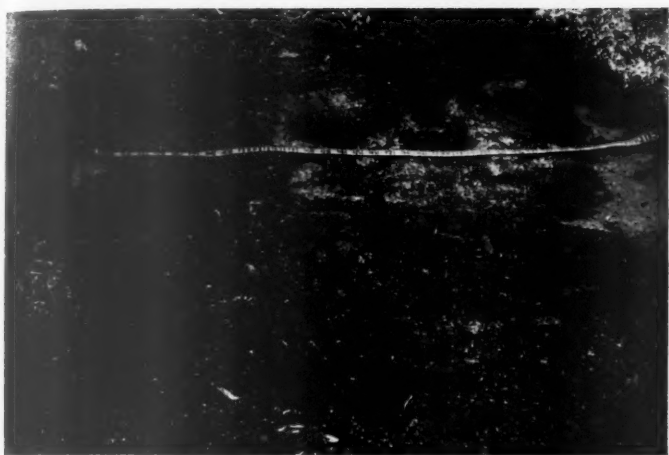
The difficulty of finding stake-holes in loamy soil has been emphasized in a preceding paragraph, because I have no grounds for belief that the plan of the stake-structure as shown is complete. It is true that the stakes of this ring were so slender that (since there is some evidence of a grading-down from the centre) no slenderer structure of the same sort could be surmised outside it, but other patterns (e.g. radial) are possible and such might extend on the south side of the barrow well into the zone between the second and third circles (i.e. outside the hard-pan) without any likelihood of detection. Within the area covered by the turf-stack indeed there are, as the plan shows, occasional well-marked holes (p. 113, f. 1) which do not fall into the concentric pattern.

A '58-ft.' Circle? There is, however, slight evidence suggesting the possibility of a 58-ft. ring; on the east side of the barrow, at an approximate radius of 29 ft. from the centre, two circular dark stains of the character already described were found. These were larger than in the 48-ft. circle. The discovery could not be followed up; the frost increased in intensity and when work was resumed it was necessary to start on the third barrow of the series. The ring, if it existed, was probably discontinuous; pairs of stakes at wide intervals may be suggested.

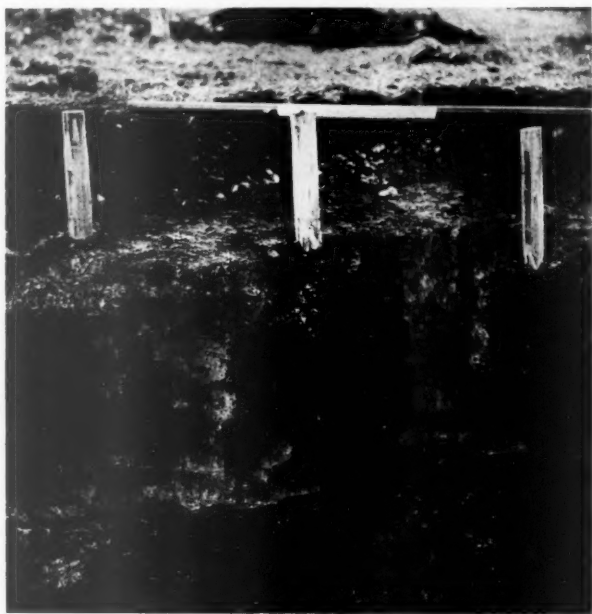
We now return to the central part of the barrow, where there is a circle of different character to the others. The 18-ft. circle (range of diameters 17 ft. 11 in.—18 ft. 11 in.) is irregular; there are wide gaps where it is certain stakes were never driven into the ground, and the distances apart of those holes which are in series show a variability so wide as to render the striking of an average useless. The type of hole seen in the other circles—evidencing a stake driven straight in—is seen here, but two other types occur: an angular dug hole, in the centre of which the stake is placed, and a cone-shaped hole, the stake being screwed in on its point. The depth is similar to that in the case of the other circles—about 1 ft. Most of the stake-holes were of the same size as those of the 28- and 38-ft. circles; the rest were definitely larger. One stained ring measured $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in., the still existing hole in the centre of the ring being $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ in.¹

Lastly, it should be said that the circles appear to have been struck from the same centre, the nearest approximation to the position of which is shown on the plan by a cross; but they were most probably measured off circle by circle, each from the

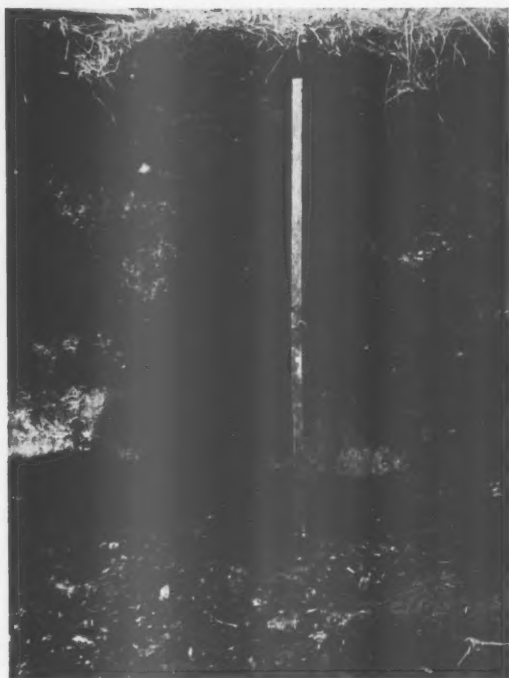
¹ Compare the 28-ft. circle, where a stained ring was $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ in. and the central hole $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in.



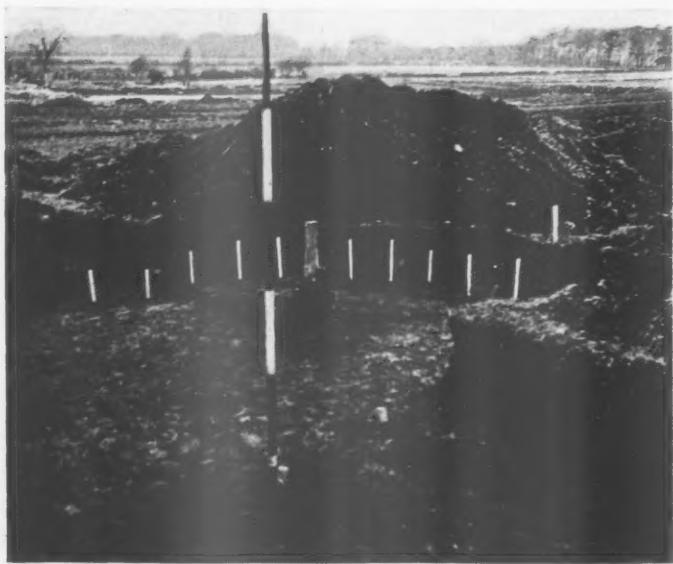
a. Sheepplays 293'. Three stake-holes, 28-foot circle, NW. quadrant. These holes are lined with a ferric concretion (hard-pan) and were found open when the original surface under the barrow was exposed



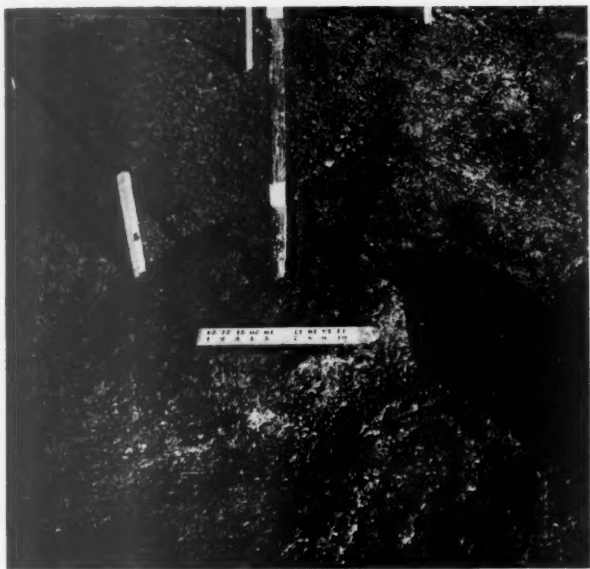
b. Sheepplays 293'. Three revetment stake-holes, NW. quadrant. The stakes were bent outwards, for the holes appeared below in the face of the cutting



a. Sheeplys 293'. Revetment stake-hole bent outwards; seen in section in the axial (N-S) trench. Its base is above the floor of the barrow (marked by a black bar on the scale) and it extends upwards into plough soil



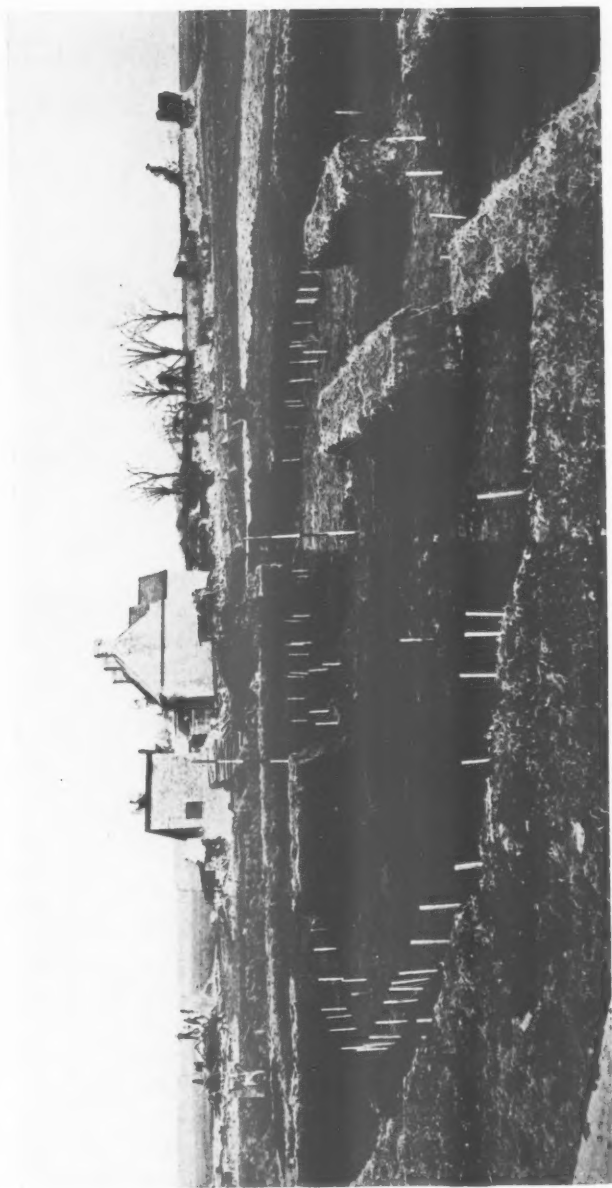
b. Sheeplys 279': showing (*a*) the site of the two primary cremations (no. 1 short peg and ranging pole, no. 11 short peg, both in foreground), and (*b*) position of stake-holes in NE. quadrant (ten slender pegs)



a. Six Wells 267'. The dome of hard-pan over central deposit



b. Sheepplays 279'. Stone ring, looking N. from east trench



Six Wells 267'. Site from W.; excavation completed, all stake-holes pegged, and the central hole cleared

one within it. The final form of the barrow (its greatest diameter is N.-S.) appears to have been influenced by that of the turf stack, rather than by the circles.

The Revetment Stakes

In clearing the north-western quadrant of the barrow a series of stake-holes was found which were related not to the stake-circles but to the margin of the turf-stack (which—see plan—here extends outwards from the line of the 38-ft. circle to touch the 48-ft. circle). They were first seen high up in the barrow immediately below the plough-soil (pl. xx, *b*); and on being followed downwards were found to curve inwards, as is seen in pl. xx, *b*, and less well in pl. xxi, *b*. Clearly they represented stakes thrust out by pressure; and, since they were on the edge of the turf-stack, this pressure must have been exerted by the stack itself. Moreover, their ends were found to rest in the grey clay which here formed the basal portion of the turf stack, as is seen in pl. xxii, *a*, not in the ancient surface soil as do all the circle stakes. As there was in this area a spill-over of turf from the stack into the zone of the loamy soil which surrounds it (p. 100), the only possible conclusion is that the stack, being here insecure, was revetted or reinforced before the soil addition was made which completed the barrow structure. The revetment stakes were a little larger than those of the 28- and 38-ft. circles; the ring of orange, with its greyish-black filling, measured 4-5 in. in diameter.

Fig. 3 is a drawing of the face of the trench photographed in pl. xxii, *a*, together with a sketch made at the opposite side of this trench. In the first section hard-pan (black, horizontal) is seen merging into the foot of the revetment stake-hole set in the clayey base of the stack; this stake-hole is bent outwards, has an orange and black border and base, and greyish centre. Lumps of greyish clay, with orange and black turfy material, mingle with the casing of loamy soil on the right of the stake-hole. Deep in the floor of the barrow, one of the stake-holes of the 48-ft. circle is shown.

In the opposite section the whole turf-stack is seen to have collapsed outwards and spread itself to the angle of rest, prior to the addition of the loam casing (which therefore is not seen in the drawing). The revetment stake had its foot in the clay base of the turf stack and is bent outwards more heavily than its neighbour; one of the 48-ft. stake-holes here comes within the limits of the hard-pan and consequently was clearly visible as an orange-and-black circle on the surface thereof. It had a grey clayey core.

These two sections are thus variants on the same theme; they show how different in detail the effects of a given cause may be at closely adjacent points.

It is remarkable that, measured at their high surviving level, these stake-holes are as constant in their distances apart (see pl. XXI, *b*) as are the stake-holes of the circles in the ground. Fifteen distances, measured from centre to centre of the holes, vary by only

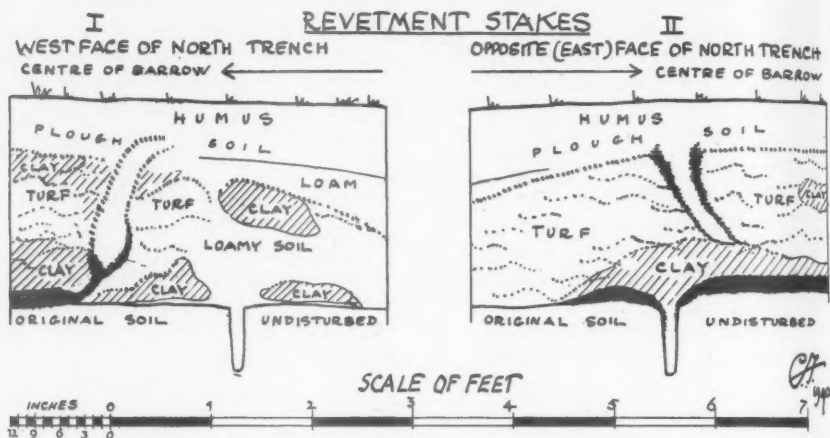


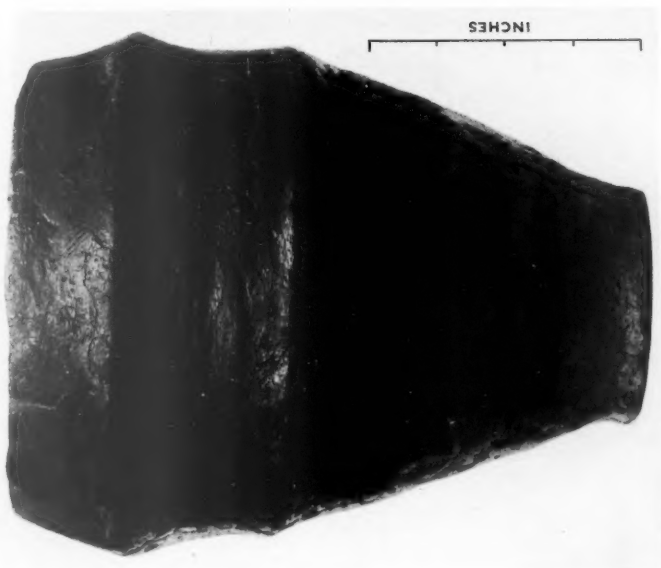
FIG. 3. Revetment stake-holes, Sheepplays 293'

3 in.—from 1 ft. 2 in. to 1 ft. 5 in.; it follows that large stretches of these revetment posts bent and broke without changing their lateral intervals—that is they were tied together by some form of wattling. And it is equally interesting to observe that the average distance between the posts is 15.7 in.; they represent then the identical technique used in the construction of the stake-circles.

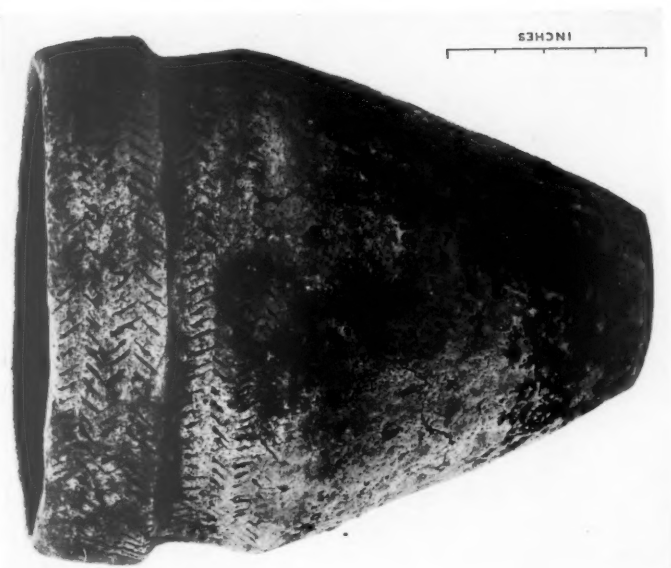
The Primary Burial and the Central Stake-holes

Within the 18-ft. circle a large deeply pitted and irregularly contoured hummock or dome was found from which the overlying turfy soil came away cleanly, showing that it had been consolidated before the turf-stack was built (pl. XIX, *a*). The dome was heavily iron-stained, but hard-pan was not present;¹ it was covered with criss-crossed black material which looked organic, like long strips of bark. Below this thin layer (see section, fig. 2) was grey clayey turf with lumps of charcoal, 6 in. thick at the centre; then

¹ The only place in the area covered by the turf-stack where hard-pan was not present.



b. Cordonated urn, secondary cremation E, Sheepplays 293



a. Overhanging-rim urn, primary cremation burial,
Sheepplays 293



another stripy layer of bark-like material. This overlay, and was firmly adherent to, yellow lias clay—the local subsoil—which also contained lumps of charcoal; in the centre a patch of loam was then disclosed, and below the patch a brown circular stain on a clean floor (which was the ancient surface of the ground). The bark-like material was examined by Mr. H. A. Hyde, who reports that the (upper) layer represents, in part at least, the much decayed and flattened remains of *pièces* of tree branches laid on a clay surface (Appendix III, p. 126). Stake-holes and irregular holes pierced the dome at various points (one is shown in the section), and some were checked downwards into the floor, but no intelligible pattern could be made out.

On clearing the soft loamy soil which formed the circular stain, a neat round hole was disclosed 13½ in. in diameter with an overhanging-rim urn inside, the rim 5 in. below the ground surface (pl. xix, *b*). The space between the wall of the hole and the pot was just wide enough to insert one's fingers under the rim and to lift it out. This space was filled with a black deposit from the pyre, numerous small stones being fitted round the upper part to keep the urn upright (fig. 2). The hole was 18 in. deep. The urn contained, in the upper 4 in., soil, charcoal, and many needle-like objects. Below this were clean burnt bones; in them, near the bottom, was a bronze awl, and an unworked flint flake which had been calcined. The bones were those of a youth 18 years old or under (Appendix II, p. 125).

Stake-holes piercing the dome have been mentioned; around the dome but within the 18-ft. circle there was a variety of holes. Some were angular in outline, others circular. Many of the larger angular holes up to 1 ft. in diameter were quite shallow and could never have held stakes or posts, while some of the circular holes were so small as only to have held wands. A few holes showed like the circles in the hard-pan; the majority was not found until the hard-pan had been dug away. Stakes in such holes must have been removed before the turf-stack was built. The whole of the area was cleared and lay open for several weeks, but the severe weather prevented proper examination. The plan shows the positions and attempts to distinguish between angular and circular holes; no intelligible pattern can, however, be made out. No scatter of charcoal was seen in the area or, indeed, anywhere in the barrow as an original deposit except in and under the dome.

Mr. Hyde has examined charcoal from the dome, from under the dome, from the pit, and from the urn. In every case there was ample material; and the only species present was hawthorn (*Craetagus monogyna*). Mr. Hyde also made the interesting discovery

that the needle-like objects referred to above are 'carbonized grass stalks'. The pyre, then, was fed with thorn and dry grass (Appendix III, p. 126).

The Secondary Burials and the Charcoal Deposit

There were four secondary burials by cremation, only one of which was in an urn; none had any grave-goods. Of these two are in the turf-stack, two in the soil zone of the barrow (see plan, pl. xxvi).

Cremation B. This was situated in the turf-stack over a stake-hole of the 28-ft. circle. The top of the deposit was 6 in. below the present surface and some of it had been ploughed away. The basin-shaped hole, 13 × 12 in. in area by 5 in. in depth, showed a mass of clean bones, almost entirely enveloped in finely comminuted charcoal—the bones must have been wrapped in a bag. The surrounding clayey turfy soil was not reddened. The bones were probably those of a woman (see Appendix II).

Cremation C. A well-defined basin-shaped deposit 9 in. broad by 3 in. deep, of burnt bones and charcoal. The top was 1 ft. from the present surface of the barrow and some of the deposit had been ploughed away. It was inserted in soil, on the sloping margin of the turf-stack; the soil was not reddened around it. The bones were those of an adult (Appendix II).

Cremation D. This burial was in a shallow basin measuring 10 × 9 in., 10 in. below present level and 2 in. deep. The greater part of the deposit had probably been cut away by the plough. There was much charcoal and a quantity of burnt bone, probably that of a young child (Appendix II).

Cremation E. This burial was in a hole 11 × 8 in. in area and 8 in. deep; it had been inserted in the ancient surface soil near the margin of the mound, 2 ft. below the present surface. In the hole was a cordoned urn which contained burnt bones, surrounded by charcoal. The adjacent soil was not reddened. The bones were those of a 'child probably of not more than 5 or 6 years' (Appendix II).

The Charcoal Patch. While exploring the line of what may be an outermost series of stakes (p. 104) in the south-east quadrant a deposit of charcoal was found, probably on original ground-level—but the conditions were too bad for accurate determination. This deposit was approximately circular and measured 1 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., and in it were seven holes for wands, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. Four of these bordered the deposit on the north side, evenly spaced, 8 in. apart; the others were irregularly disposed in its mass. There was no trace of burnt bones and the surrounding soil was not reddened.

The Objects associated with the Burials

The overhanging-rim urn which contained the primary deposit (pl. xxv, a and fig. 4) was a beautifully proportioned vessel, and, for the period, well made; c. 1300 B.C. would be a reasonable date to assign to it. It is 12.2 in. in height with incised herringbone decoration from rim to shoulder. It was recovered without damage of any sort.

The awl (42 mm. long) is circular in section, having a square-sectioned tapering butt, which is a type recognized as of the Middle Bronze Age—a

dated parallel is figured in *Antiq. Journ.* 1940, p. 44, fig. 2, and p. 46. It is well preserved, with a rich blue-green patina (fig. 6).

The urn associated with cremation E (pl. xxv, b, and fig. 5) is an interesting example of one of the cordoned-urn types of the west, conventionally dated in the Late Bronze Age. It is a small vessel, 9.0 in. high, of poorly baked

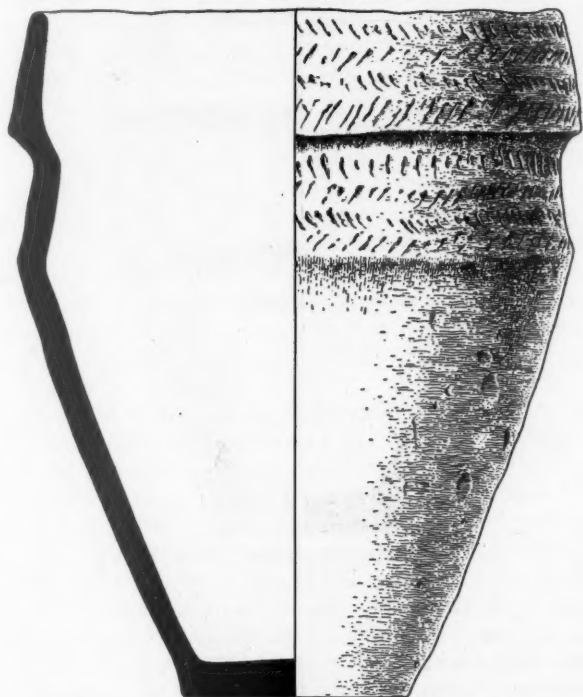


FIG. 4. Urn, primary cremation, Sheeplays 293' ($\frac{1}{2}$)

ware. The rim-angle and shoulder of the overhanging-rim urn have developed into a unified design presenting in profile a succession of hollow curves and ridges. One cannot speak of debasement; a new type, with its own character and values, has arisen. A similar urn in the National Museum of Wales comes from Towyn, Merioneth.

Interpretation

The major problem of Sheeplays 293' is the interpretation of the stake-circles. It will be recalled that the 18-ft. stake-holes were irregular in size and spacing, but the regularity of the 28-, 38-, and 48-ft. circles was remarkable and the same technique was clearly employed in the construction of all of them. The

average distances between the centres of the stake-holes in these circles were respectively 1 ft. 3.6 in., 1 ft. 3.3 in., 1 ft. 4 in. Some standard system of wattling or interlacement which provided for a given number of verticals in a given length of construction must be invoked to account for this almost mathematical accuracy.

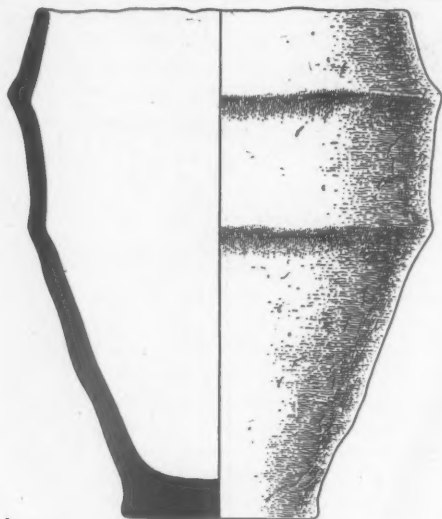


FIG. 5. Urn, secondary cremation E, Sheepplays 293' ($\frac{1}{2}$)

These 28-, 38-, and 48-ft. circles again were probably alike in showing no portal of entry. The 28-ft. circle was completely examined except where balks crossed it; five-sixths of the 38-ft. circle was also examined and there was only 1 missing stake-hole. Nearly a third of the 48-ft. circle was examined; there were 2 missing stake-holes; but the recognition of the holes in this circle was so difficult¹ that I cannot attach great importance to this evidence for a gap.

We can, however, differentiate between these circles. The 48-ft. was but a ring of wands; whilst the difference between the 28-ft. and the 38-ft. is that the orange and black stain in the turf linking stake-hole to stake-hole in the former does not occur in the latter. I suggest that there was close wattling in the 28-ft. circle and that in the 38- (and 48-) ft. circles the wattling was open—a mere band of interlacing weave at intervals to hold the stakes upright and parallel.

¹ A dark smear on the ancient surface, freshly exposed with the polished blade of a spade, is the primary indication (p. 104).

If this be accepted, special significance attaches to the area within the 28-ft. circle, for it was completely shut off.¹

Now I suggest that the 28-ft. circle is the wattled wall of a hut.² And if this be conceded, the inner 18-ft. circle, irregular, and with some larger posts, is readily explained. Every hole of this circle would have carried a post forked at the top, supporting a rafter set radially; at the top of the high-pitched roof the longest of these brushwood rafters would cross each other, forming an open network, wigwam fashion. Heather or turf laid on wattles tying these rafters together would form the roof.³



FIG. 6. Bronze awl, primary burial, Sheepleys 293' (†)

The turf-stack provides problems hardly less interesting than that of the circles. In the first place, since the shafts of the stakes have in many cases been traced to the present top of the stack (the surface soil that is of the barrow), it is certain that no decay of these stakes had set in when it was built, and that the turf-stack is part of the original design.

Now since the 28-ft. circle was certainly complete (p. 103) and the 38- and 48-ft. circles probably so, it is difficult to see how the stack could have been constructed at all under these conditions. We must, I think, assume that temporary gaps were made, above ground-level, the holes being filled up when the turf-stack was completed. The inconveniences resulting from building a stack by carrying turves into a hut, and also making a ramp immediately outside it, conforming to its curve, are I think reflected in a curiosity of the construction, the dip between the ramps and the main mass of the stack—which is the exact line of the wattled walls. The turves were here not packed tightly enough! They

¹ This area has another distinctive feature; in it the hard-pan rises here and there in hummocks (over decayed heather or turf?).

² Mortimer (*Forty Years' Researches*, pp. 154 ff. and figs. 397 and 400) plans a Yorkshire barrow, his no. 23, which showed a double circle of stake-holes one within the other, which he (I think correctly) regarded as the framework of a wattled circular hut. The diameter of Mortimer's outer circle is 28 ft. He describes also a series of stake-holes in his barrow no. 41 (p. 182), but the account is inadequate. Mortimer regarded these as 'abandoned', not symbolic dwellings. They were of Early Bronze Age date.

³ The holes may seem small to accommodate posts capable of supporting such a large roof. In this connexion a remark made in a letter from my friend T. C. Lethbridge, F.S.A., is relevant. 'In the Viking houses' (in Iceland), he says, 'there are rows of posts marking aisles. I saw three cleared ones, and was interested to see how small the post-holes were. They could hardly have had anything in them much bigger than a prop for a clothes-line, and yet one of the houses was huge, 100 feet long inside at least.'

were, however, packed more tightly in the northern quadrants, for the posts (and the wattling in places) remained upright. This tight packing was essential, as we shall see; for there was a high external platform on this side to be supported.¹

In the course of this work the floor of the hut was heavily trampled like the rest of the area which was being covered by the stack, providing the impervious stratum needed for the formation of hard-pan, but I can offer no satisfactory explanation for the hummocky character of this hard-pan referred to on p. 103.²

A remarkable feature of the stack is the lack of correspondence with the plan of the circles in the northern segment, where its margin moves outward from the 38-ft. circle. This lack of correspondence caused us much mystification in the course of the investigation. Since the whole foundational symbolism consists of circles, the introduction of an elliptical turf barrow on the circle basis, destroying the correspondence between the hut and its envelope, seemed inexplicable. But when it became probable that the wings of the turf barrow formed rising ramps which curved round the outside of a wattled hut wall, a serviceable explanation dawned. It may first be recalled that at Pond Cairn,³ a structure of the same period as Sheepslays 293', there was evidence for a ritual movement of men round the turf-stack, controlled, it was thought, from the flat top of the stack.

The ramps at Sheepslays, then, provided ways for those concerned in controlling ritual⁴ on to the flat top of the stack; but the greater part of this top was occupied by the upper part of the sacred hut; and there was only, if correspondence with the 38-ft. circle was to be adhered to (see plan), a space 5 ft. wide from hut wall to stack edge—hardly broad enough for dignity! The stack was therefore extended on the north side of the hut, making a platform 111 ft. wide. It was in this very area that, as we have seen, the turf-stack was in danger of collapse, and was propped up by revetment stakes. The extra weight—of men on the stack—suffices to account for the collapse, and the care taken

¹ I cannot explain the absence of vertical marks of decayed wattling in the two faces of the north trench (section AA') where the 28-ft. circle—the wall of the hut—crosses this trench. It is the only serious weakness, I think, in the argument. But the destruction of the wattled wall on this side, in order to make a solid and continuous turf-stack, does not appear improbable.

² The branch-covered dome was no part of this accidental irregularity: no hard-pan formed on it; it had not been trodden.

³ *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, pp. 147–8, 157.

⁴ As well, no doubt, as serving the practical purpose of providing a means of dumping turf into the hut from the top, after the filling from the bottom had reached the limits of practicability.

in the matter of repair attests the importance of this part of the structure; these considerations render the explanation of the elliptical form of the stack offered above the more probable.

The axis of the barrow structure must be assumed to be determined by the position of the wings of the turf-stack—it is NW.-SE., and is somewhat obscured on the plan by the alignments of the excavation trenches. But the circles do not show any modification or duplication to emphasize such an axis.¹ Moreover, it is to be noted that the floor of the barrow at the place on this axis which seems most important—that between the 'wings' of the stack, and in front of the hut-wall—was clean and free from charcoal. It is then unlikely that ritual acts took place here.

The soil barrow now claims attention. It is prehistoric, for secondary cremation burials are in it. One is contained in a cordoned urn dating in the Late Bronze Age. But the question as to whether it was part of the original design still remains open. On this it may first be said that the wattling of the revetment stakes, though necessarily of soft sapwood, was still undecayed when the soil addition stopped further movement of the turf-stack, for the lateral distances of the stakes were constant from their bases upwards, though they were bent and broken. This is a pointer: the question is settled by the fact that stake-holes of the 38-ft. circle in the south-east quadrant could be detected high up in the soil barrow. They were vertical, hence no decay had set in in this circle where it was covered with soil; again, this circle existed contemporaneously with the inner circles (28- and 18-ft.), for it was covered by the turf barrow throughout part of its circumference.

I conclude that the space of time intervening between the construction of the turf barrow and the addition of the soil barrow was no more than long enough to allow for the partial collapse and reinforcement of the former: a ritual interval between, let us say, seed-time and harvest, is indicated.

The only fact which appears to traverse this induction is that the 28-ft. circle—the presumed wattled walls of the hut—had collapsed inwards under the pressure of the soil barrow in the southern quadrants (p. 102-3); for, if it was due to decay, it suggests a longer interval than is consistent with the integrity of the 38-ft. circle. But as we have seen, the turf within the hut on the south

¹ The only hint provided by the stake-holes of such an axial lay-out is in the N.W. quadrant, where a radial alignment of additional holes points, somewhat uncertainly, to the primary burial. A duplication of stake-holes at two other points in this quadrant should also be noted (see plan).

side was not tightly packed, and the collapse of the wall due to the weight of the soil casing might have occurred long afterwards. Alternatively, the hut may have been intentionally wrecked before envelopment.¹

Summary.—The history of Sheeplays 293', as determined by fact and inference, may then be summarized as follows:

A well-born youth who lived close to a marshy flat fed by the springs now known as 'Six Wells' died about 1300 B.C.; his cremated remains, placed in an overhanging-rim urn, were interred on the adjacent upland. An earth-dome marked the site; it was carefully built, and at an intermediate and the final stages of its construction tree branches were laid, criss-cross fashion, on it. We are reminded of the 'vegetation sacrifice' with which the ceremonies associated with the contemporary burial in Pond Cairn ended.² Close around the dome, ritual acts were performed, as evidenced by stake-holes and hollows which seem to have played no part in subsequent events.

A circular hut with wattled walls and a ring of internal posts was built round the interment; the hut was symbolic, not functional. Two concentric fences were then made, farther out, of close-set stakes or wands linked by one or more strands of wattling.

While the fences and the hut were still intact, the third phase of the action began. The hut was filled with turves, and it, together with the concentric fencing, was partly buried in a stack of this material. The height of the turf-stack was probably that of the eaves of the hut, and it was approximately circular, with a bulge on the north side which provided a platform for ritual; curved ramps led up to this platform on either side of the hut. The platform collapsed, but was repaired.

After an interval so short that no decay had taken place even in the slender outer (48-ft.) fence and while the collapse of the platform was still in progress, a casing of soil was dumped around, and possibly also on top of, the turf-stack.

Thereafter secondary burials also of the Bronze Age were placed in the mound, which probably presented, before modern ploughing reduced it, a flat-topped steep-sided profile.

¹ Mortimer included, in the observations already referred to, evidence that the 'huts' in two of his barrows had been wrecked before envelopment, *op. cit.*, pp. 156 and 183. See also an important paper by Mr. Stuart Piggott—Timber Circles, a Re-examination, *Arch. Journ.* 1939, esp. p. 218. Here he urges that the majority of the Dutch palisade barrows began with a burial made on the floor of a hut, and cites evidence for the collapse of a hut in one barrow.

² *Archaeologia* lxxxvii, p. 157.

SHEEPLAYS 279'

This small barrow was situated 44 yards (centre to centre) from Sheeplays 293', lower down a gentle slope. It was so heavily ploughed down as to be almost invisible. The method adopted for its examination was that described on p. 98.

Argument. Around two primary cremation burials without

PRIMARY BURIALS "SHEEPLAYS 279"

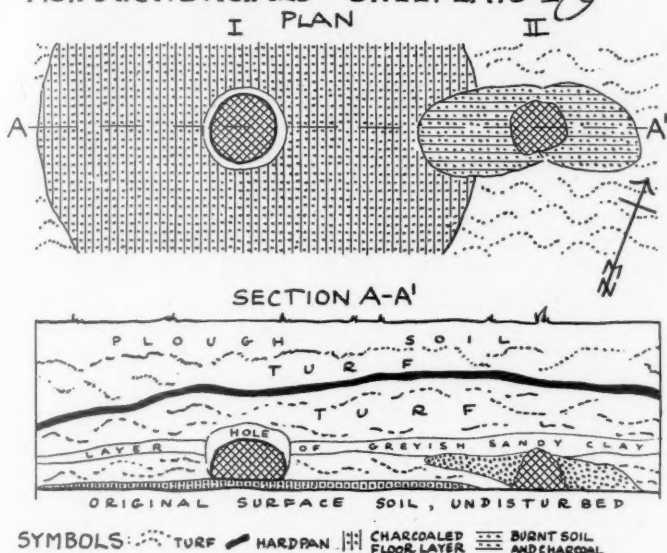


FIG. 7. Cremation burials I and II

grave-goods was a circle of stake-holes. The barrow structure was of turf with a casing of soil; it had a marginal stone ring and was possibly ditched. A detailed description follows.

The Burials

The position of the two primary deposits is seen in the plan, pl. xxvii, and their centres are shown by pegs (and a ranging pole) in pl. xxii, *b*. The detail is presented in fig. 7. Cremation I was the more important of the two burials. It was at ground-level. On a layer 4½ ft. in diameter of greasy dark soil and charcoal—material from the pyre—was a compact mass, 8 in. in diameter, of burnt bones, clean and white, enveloped in a granular reddish-brown

substance which had lost all coherency. This substance was about $\frac{1}{10}$ in. thick and was doubtless a leather bag which had collapsed, for there was a hole above the deposit. Orange and black turfy soil of the character familiar in these investigations surrounded the deposit.

Three feet away to the east-north-east was the second cremation, also at the original ground-level. There was a small quantity of burnt bones, loosely distributed, clean like the other. Surrounding this deposit was reddened soil and charcoal which extended on the west side into the layers of turf which surrounded Cremation I; thus it had been deposited after the process of building turves round Cremation I had begun, and before it was completed.

A continuous layer of the usual grey-blue clayey soil covered one deposit, and enveloped the other.

Since both cremations must be regarded as primary, and contemporary, the age and sex of the persons concerned are of special interest. The determinations, as in the case of barrow 293', have been carried out by Mr. L. F. Cowley, whose report is on p. 125. Cremation I, he states, is of an adult and a child; Cremation II of a child not more than 11 years of age. The contrast between the technique of these two deposits is striking; some day we may hope that the significance of this and kindred phenomena will be understood.

	<i>Bones</i>	<i>Pyre material</i>
Cremation I	Washed: in a bag, tight	Spread on floor below bones, cold
Cremation II	Washed: in a heap, loose	Deposited around bones, hot

The Barrow

The turfy soil which covered the cremations extended outwards to form the central portion of the barrow—a mass approximately circular, probably about 31–2 ft. in diameter; its margins were only determined at four points (see plan, pl. xxvii and sections, pl. xxix). In or under the turf was a fairly continuous layer of hard-pan. This was domed and hummocky over the central area, being highest above the cremations, and was for the most part at ground-level on the fringe. The existence of the domed portion implies a pause in the construction of the barrow; for trampling, of a ritual character it may be, must be invoked to produce the comparatively impervious layer on which the hard-pan formed.

Over the hard-pan the turfy mass, which showed much grey clay everywhere, extended up to the plough soil; but the barrow

at its highest was only 1 ft. 8 in. above the original ground, and there was not much stratified deposit available for study in the cross-sections.

Beyond the edge of the turf there was a casing of loamy soil; on the east side (see section BB') this soil was overlaid by the yellow lias subsoil of the district.

The Stake-holes

The weather conditions when this barrow was dug did not render the discovery of stake-holes in the quadrant trenches likely: but when these were found in Sheeplays 293' a search was made beyond the trench limits and a series of 15 readily found. When 83° of the arc of the circle had been disclosed (see pl. xxii, *b*) sufficient had been done to show that this barrow was of the same character as Sheeplays 293' and the work was discontinued. The circle was evidently set out with the north-west margin of Cremation I as a centre; the radius from this centre at one end of the arc was 12 ft. 8 in., at the other end 13 ft.—as close an approximation to a true circle as one could expect to get in prehistoric layouts.

The stake-holes were of exactly the same character as those in the second and third circles of Sheeplays 293'; they were *c.* 2½–3 in. in diameter. They ranged from 10 in. to 17 in. apart, and centre to centre, averaged 13.3 in.

A few smaller stake-holes were found in the neighbourhood of the primary interments, which may possibly represent an inner circle. Nothing resembling the irregular holes found near the central cremation in Sheeplays 293' was seen.

The Stone Ring

Extension of the four trenches outwards disclosed a ring of stones—lias boulders and pebbles from the neighbourhood. These were laid flat on the ground and many were 'paper-thin'. The northern half of the ring was completely explored, in the southern half the positions of the rims of the outer stones only were fixed—this in order to determine the exact form of the barrow.

In the northern half there were many gaps, probably due to casual removal of stones long after the construction of the ring. The ring seemed to be in its original condition in the north-east quadrant; here as the plan, pl. xxvii, shows, there was a double row of stones, from 1.9 ft. to 2.2 ft. in total breadth (see pl. xxiii, *b*). One large boulder over 2 ft. in length was set across the double row. Two groups of pebbles will be noticed, such as would develop if stones and boulders were collected by all and sundry including

the children, and deposited in heaps on the line of the ring, and if those charged with the business of placing them properly selected those they wanted and left the rest.

The setting-out of the ring is remarkably accurate. The margin of Cremation I is the centre, as it is for the stake-circle. The diameter of the barrow can thus be determined as 56-7 ft.

The Ditch?

A small hollow, extending from 6 to 12 ft. outside the stone ring, was located on the line of the east trench (see plan, and section BB'). It was a shallow (-4 ft.) basin-shaped scoop in the clayey subsoil (no rock was struck at -4 ft. 6 in.) filled with purplish soil easily differentiated from the yellower soil adjoining, but with no stratification that could be detected.

Since the casing of the turf-mound on the east side of the barrow showed yellow clay overlying top-soil (p. 117) some deep-dug quarry holes must have been made for material, and a ditch is possible, but the evidence is incomplete, and the circumstances and conditions did not permit further investigation.¹

Interpretation

The barrow is evidently a construction by the same folk who built Sheeplays 293' adjacent. The stake-circle, the turf mound, the domed-up mass over the burial deposit, the casing, prove this. The structure may be of later date than 293', since the central burials had no grave-goods. The stone ring, for which 293' offers no parallel, is met with in other barrows in the district apparently belonging to the same culture, such as Breach Farm, Sutton 268', and Crick;² its character, degenerate and symbolic rather than structural, also points to a late date. A small surrounding ditch is possible, but unproven. The accuracy of the setting-out of the stake-circle, and more particularly and certainly of the stone ring, is notable.

It only remains to add that the irregular stake-holes near the cremations and the 26-ft. circle of stakes may represent the same sort of ritual hut as that predicated for Sheeplays 293'.

SIX WELLS 267'

This barrow (pl. xxiv) was situated by the roadside opposite the Elizabethan house known as Six Wells Farm. It was bisected by

¹ Dr. F. J. North tells me that the hollow may well be natural with such an underlying rock as lias, and due to collapse.

² For Breach Farm see W. F. Grimes in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 1938, pp. 107-21. For Crick see H. N. Savory in *Arch. Camb.* 1940, pp. 169-91; Sutton 268' will be published in *Archaeologia* lxxxix. The subject of stone rings in South Wales is discussed in *Archaeologia* lxxxvii, pp. 160-3.

a hedge-bank and ditch. The method adopted for its examination was that described on p. 98.

Argument. Around a deposit presumably of a ritual character was an irregular circle of stake-holes. The barrow structure was of turf. A detailed description follows:

The Ritual(?) Deposit

At a point near the centre of the barrow a small dome was seen

CENTRAL DEPOSIT: SIX WELLS 267

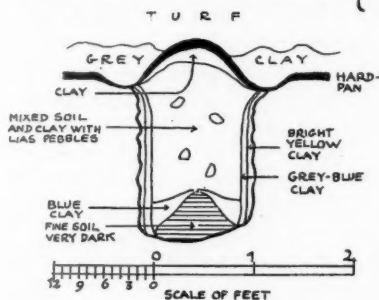


FIG. 8.

with an encircling hollow (rather like a small-scale model of a ditched bell-barrow), the whole being not more than 3 ft. in diameter (fig. 8 and pl. xxiii, a). Excavation revealed a cylindrical hole beneath the dome, 1 ft. 2 in. in diameter and 19 in. deep. This was lined with yellow clay to even out the roughnesses of the sides; over the yellow clay was a coating of grey-blue clay about 1 in. thick. At the bottom (which was determined with certainty as 'undisturbed subsoil') was a pile of dark fine earth, not greasy, and containing nothing of tangible size. This was surrounded by fine grained 'alluvial' clay; over all mixed stony soil, very compact, of local origin, domed up with clay. There was no trace of charcoal or bone either in or around the hole.

Adjacent to the hole a shallow elongated hollow, 6 ft. in length, attracted attention (plan, pl. xxviii); it contained no artefacts.

The Barrow Structure

The barrow consists of turf and grey clay without stones, similar to the turf-stacks already studied. The only complication—which spoils the sections, pl. xxix—is the farm ditch cut diagonally across the structure, destroying every feature in its path.

The present maximum height of the barrow is 2 ft.; but this includes 10 in., more or less, of plough soil, and the surviving barrow-structure is thus only 14 in. or less.

Hard-pan covers the floor of the barrow and extends in a smooth unbroken layer to the margins of the turf; the only irregularity being the dome of the ritual pit which was covered by it, as fig. 8 shows.

I suggest that the barrow consists solely of turf; for an extension of the west trench (12 yards) and north trench (6 yards) beyond the limits of the turf disclosed nothing but loamy soil¹ without evidence of stratification and no trace of a ditch. The profile of the barrow moreover suggests a turf-mound rather than a turf-stack. This mound is oval in shape, measuring 48 × 45 ft. No charcoal was found in the barrow structure or on its hard-pan floor, or under the hard-pan.

The Stake-holes

Numerous stake-holes were located under the barrow, as the plan, and pl. xxiv, show. The majority form a 28-ft. circle which is fairly true except for a bulge in the north-west quadrant which brings the diameter up to 30 ft. It is most regular in the north-east quadrant, as the plan indicates; there are occasional stake-holes outside the circle, including two pairs, while inside is a large number of holes mainly on the east side which do not seem to present any intelligible pattern. There is no clear indication of an inner circle, as at Sheepplays 293'.

There was an important difference between these holes and those in the previous barrows; for here none was seen in the hard-pan or in the turf barrow. Had any been present they would certainly have been noticed, for the digging party had gained ample experience. All, then, were found under the hard-pan; showing mostly as circles of yellowish sandy soil with an orange rim in the surrounding natural loam. Sometimes they had a core of dark fine soil. Occasionally the filling of the hole was of grey sandy clay from the turf barrow above.

Distinct differences were noted in the character of the holes in the various parts of the circle. In the south-west and most of the south-east quadrants the holes are large, some squarish, and tending to run together, or close-set in pairs. They resemble the holes under the hard-pan in the central complex of Sheepplays 293'. In the north-east and part of the north-west quadrants the holes are normal orange-rimmed circles, 3-4 in. in diameter; in the rest of

¹ Of considerable thickness. The site is close to an ancient house, and may have at one time been a dump for soil.

the north-west quadrant (working anti-clockwise) the holes became smaller until they were either small black smears or a soft patch of soil. Only those of which one could be reasonably certain are plotted in this segment—gaps will be noticed. Thereafter the orange-rimmed holes pick up again suddenly.

Interpretation

Six Wells 267' is a product of the same culture as that manifested in the two Sheeplays barrows. The domed central deposit, the stake-circle, the turf mound, demonstrate this.

The central date of the culture must for us, at present, be that of Sheeplays 293', that is *c.* 1300 B.C.; and we can thus approximately place a type of barrow hitherto undated. This type, which I term a 'ritual' barrow, as being built over a central construction which is not a burial, has received little or no attention; though records of 'empty graves' and 'cists', and cenotaphs—barrows lacking any indication of an interment or anything else to account for their existence, are not uncommon in the literature.¹

In the case of Six Wells 267', then, we have an elaborate structure sufficiently near the centre to justify the view that it is the causative agent of the barrow: a structure in which there is no adequate reason to suspect the former presence of any part of a human body. The absence of charcoal or reddened earth, either in the little pit or anywhere in the central area of the barrow,² and the negative results of the careful examination of the whole of the floor for signs of disturbed ground indicative of a burial, buttress this opinion. Another structure of the same character having been excavated since this paper was written, discussion of its significance may conveniently be postponed, and I will content myself

¹ The closest parallel to Six Wells 267' I have come across is Combe Beacon, Somerset, a barrow excavated by Mr. H. St. G. Gray, F.S.A. Mr. W. J. Varley also records what may be a similar structure—Robin Hood's Tump, Cheshire (refs. *Proc. Som. Arch. and N.H. Soc.*, 1935, lxxxi, pp. 83–107, and *Prehistoric Cheshire*, W. J. Varley and J. W. Jackson, 1940, fig. 6). A barrow, CCLXX, in the parish of Fylingdales, Yorks., opened by Greenwell and recorded in *Archaeologia*, lii, p. 41, contained a structure which is not like mine, but which conforms to my definition of a 'ritual' barrow. Barrows with graves or cists lacking burials are not uncommon; I do not regard these as ritual barrows, but rather as a form of cenotaph. For examples, see Greenwell, *loc. cit.*, pp. 23–4, 35–6, 60. 'Ritual Pits' ancillary to burials are of course common enough. See *e.g.* *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, p. 141. Mr. L.V. Grinsell has been very helpful in searching for these parallels.

² The destruction of a broad belt across the barrow by agricultural operations introduces an element of doubt; but the plan does not suggest this zone as a likely area for a primary burial deposited by a people of this culture, having regard to the centralization of the primary deposits in Sheeplays 293' and 279'.

by remarking that a concept and a ritual which involved the labour of erecting a barrow over so materially insignificant a deposit, must have represented an important element in the life and culture of the folk concerned.

The stake-circle of Six Wells 267' combines in one structure features found in several circles in Sheeplays 293'. There are numerous holes resulting from the driving-in of stakes, and there are many larger angular holes, similar to some found in the 18-ft. circle. Sheeplays 293' provides also a parallel to the absence of evidence of stake-holes in or over the hard-pan, for many of the enigmatic holes surrounding the central burial in this barrow were only discovered after the hard-pan had been removed.

In discussing Sheeplays 293' it was pointed out that stake-holes found under the hard-pan can only represent stakes removed before the barrow was erected; thus a technique employed at 293' in the case of a comparatively few posts near the central burial was at 267' adopted for the whole of the timber structure. But since some of the holes were filled with material from the turf barrow, the stakes must have been drawn immediately prior to its erection (or they would have been filled, by natural agencies, with soil). Hence stake-structure and barrow form part of the one design.

Stuart Piggott in a paper¹ previously referred to interprets the duplication and erratic distribution of circles of post-holes in many barrows as representing reconstruction and replacement of elements of the original hut: this barrow is the only one of the three which offers a possible example of this practice. The theory would conveniently account for the variety of method of placing the posts in the ground and for variations in size. The diameter of the circle, 28-ft., is consistent with the theory. But the inner circle of posts which a hut of such a size seems to demand is lacking. And if the gap on the north-west side is an entrance, the slenderness of the posts flanking it is surprising. If the structure were a hut it was symbolic like that at Sheeplays 293', not functional, for there was no charcoal or human rubbish of any sort on the floor within the circle.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Summaries of the results having been offered in the form of interpretations in the preceding pages, this article may end with three brief observations.

The two cremation barrows, Sheeplays 293' and 279', and the

¹ 'Timber circles: a Re-examination'; *Arch. Journ.* 1940, xcvi, pp. 193-222; esp. p. 219 and figs. 12, 13.

'ritual' barrow Six Wells 267' represent a Middle Bronze Age culture widespread in the South Wales sea-plain and on the opposite coasts of the Bristol Channel.¹ Certain features of this culture, turf-stacks and stone rings, are already familiar; the stake-circles (and huts?) have not previously been recorded in connection with it. The evidence of such, however, is not easy to find (until the characteristics are well known), and it may be that in imperfectly studied barrows of the class, in Somerset and Devonshire for example, many stake-circles were present. The chief problems which demand our future attention are, then, the proximate source and the ancestry of this newly-discovered element; it is certainly post-beaker in our region.

These circles (and huts?) are important, extending as they do our knowledge of the range, both in character and plan, and of the technique of construction, of sacred wooden structures in pre-historic Britain, gained by the work *inter alia* of Dr. Grahame Clark, Mrs. M. E. Cunnington, Mr. C. S. Leaf, Mr. J. R. Mortimer, Mr. Stuart Piggott, and Mr. W. J. Varley.²

The view that a barrow may be a structure designed in the course of, and for the performance of, burial ritual, first suggested for Pond Cairn, Bridgend, Glamorgan,³ is reinforced by an analysis of the turf-stack in Sheeplays 293'.

APPENDIX I

Summary of Measurements

BARROW SHEEPLAYS 293'

Maximum height of barrow: 2 ft. 10 in.

Diameter of barrow: east to west 64 ft.; north to south 66.6 ft.

Diameter of turf-stack: east to west c. 40 ft.

south to north without 'wings' 37 ft.

" " with 'wings' 41 ft.

Diameter of 'circles':

'18-ft.': extreme range 17 ft. 11 in.—18 ft. 11 in.

'28-ft.': " " 26 ft. 9 in.—28 ft. 9 in.

'38-ft.': " " 37 ft. 11 in.—40 ft. 4 in.

'48-ft.': " " 48 ft. 7 in.—48 ft. 11 in. Two measurements only.

'58-ft.?' : Two stake-holes about 5 ft. outside 48-ft. circle on east side.

¹ To the list of barrows in *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, p. 162, add Crick, *Arch. Camb.* 1940, pp. 169 ff., and Sutton 268', Llandow, Glam. (publication pending).

² Grahame Clark, 'The Timber Monument at Arminghall and its Affinities', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* ii, 1936, pp. 1-51: Mrs. M. E. Cunnington, *Woodhenge*, Devizes, 1929, and *The Sanctuary*, Overton Hill, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlv, 1931, pp. 300 ff.: C. S. Leaf, *Bronze Age Barrows at Chippenham*, Cambs., *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* xxxix, 1939, p. 36: J. R. Mortimer, *op. cit.*: Piggott, *loc. cit.*: W. J. Varley, 'The Bleasdale Circle', *Antiq. Journ.* 1938, pp. 154-71: Cf. A. E. Van Giffen, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv, 1938, p. 266-71. ³ *Arch.* lxxxvii, *loc. cit.*, pp. 156 ff.

	<i>Proven</i>	<i>Probable</i>	<i>Total</i>
Number of stake-holes:			
'18-ft.' circle	29	none	29
'28-ft.' "	57	7	64
'38-ft.' "	79	17	96
'48-ft.' "	36	65	101

BARROW SHEEPLAYS 279'

Maximum height of barrow: 1 ft. 8 in.

Diameter of barrow: to external face of stone ring 56-7 ft.

Diameter of turf structure: approximately 31-2 ft.

Diameter of 'circle': probably 26 ft.

Number of stake-holes in circle: *Proven* 15, *Probable* 61, *Total* 76.

BARROW SIX WELLS 267'

Maximum height of barrow: 2 ft.

Diameter of barrow: east to west 45 ft.; north to south 48 ft.

Diameter of 'circle': 28 ft. It is, however, irregular, the extreme diameter being 30 ft. (bulge on N. side). Number of stake-holes in circle: *Proven* 60.

STAKE-HOLES: VARIOUS DATA: ALL THREE BARROWS

	<i>Size and character of stake-holes</i>	<i>Depth of those examined</i>	<i>Distance apart of stake-holes centre to centre</i>
<i>Barrow Sheeplays 293'</i>			
18-ft. circle	Driven in, dug in, rotated in: 3-5½ in.	10-12 in.	1 ft. to 2 ft. 4 in. for those in series: large gaps
28-ft. "	Driven in: 3-3½ in.	10-12 in.	26 measurements: range 6 in., 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in.—average 15.6 in.
38-ft. "	" " 3-3½ in.	10 in.	66 measurements: range 7 in., 11 in. to 1 ft. 6 in.—average 15.3 in.
48-ft. "	" " 1-1½ in.	10-12 in.	25 measurements: range 4 in., 1 ft. 2 in. to 1 ft. 6 in.—average 16.0 in.
Revetment	" " 4-5 in.		15 measurements: range 3 in., 1 ft. 2 in. to 1 ft. 5 in.—average 15.7 in.
<i>Barrow Sheeplays 279'</i>			
? 26-ft. circle	Driven in: 2½-3 in.	Not ascertained	13 measurements: range 7 in., 10 in. to 1 ft. 5 in.—average 13.3 in.
<i>Barrow Six Wells 267'</i>			
28-30-ft. circle	Driven in or dug in circular holes 'very small' up to 3-4 in.; also large holes	Not ascertained	Not measured

APPENDIX II

The Cremation Burials

By L. F. COWLEY, M.Sc.

Barrow Sheeplays 293'. Primary cremation burial.

These remains, which were not so fragmentary as others from the same locality, consisted of the damaged heads of two femora, right and left, together with the distal extremity of a right fibula, two petrous bones which could be paired, portions of jaw and teeth, and portions of phalanges.

The heads of the femora and the distal portions of the fibula showed that the epiphyses had not fused with the main body of their respective bones. From these facts and also from the size of the heads of the femora, which had a diameter of 41 mm., it is very probable that the remains are of a youth 18 years old or younger.

Barrow Sheeplays 293'. Secondary cremation B.

The recognizable fragments from this site consisted of a portion of a lower jaw including the symphysis, together with a few phalanges of the upper limb.

The portion of the jaw indicates that the mandible was lightly constructed, and suggests that it belonged to a female. Portions of the phalanges showed no signs of lack of fusion of the epiphyses to their respective bones, and may therefore be taken as having been those of an adult.

The remains therefore are probably those of a woman.

Barrow Sheeplays 293'. Secondary cremation C.

The fragments from this burial contained extremities of a few bones which showed that the person represented was an adult.

There was no evidence of duplication, and in all probability therefore but one individual was represented.

Barrow Sheeplays 293'. Secondary cremation D.

The fragments from this burial were very small and few in number; none was indicative of the adult state, whereas a few small pieces suggested the skull of a young child.

Barrow Sheeplays 293'. Secondary cremation E.

The material yielded two petrous bones, one of the left and one of the right side; in addition portions of the skull of a young person.

Thus the remains appear to be of an individual, a child, probably of not more than 5 or 6 years.

Barrow, Sheeplays 279'. Primary cremation burial I.

Of the many fragments from this burial the majority were obviously those of an adult.

Amongst the material, however, were two petrous bones both of the left side, and one of these appeared to be much more robust than the other. In

addition fragments of skull indicated that both adult and infant were represented.

It would appear therefore that the remains are in all probability those of an adult and child.

Barrow Sheeplays 279'. Primary cremation burial II.

The very fragmentary remains from this site yielded the crown of one unworn premolar tooth of the permanent dentition; the remaining pieces were too fragmentary to be of any value.

On the evidence of the tooth it may be said that the remains are of a child not more than eleven years of age.

APPENDIX III

*The Plant Remains in Sheeplays 293', associated with the
Primary Burial*

By H. A. HYDE, M.A.

The plant material except where otherwise stated consisted of pieces of charcoal (wood carbonized by fire). The specimens were examined as usual by breaking them either across or along the grain, and observing their structural pattern under various powers of the microscope. In several instances a satisfactory fracture was obtained only with difficulty owing either to the friable nature of the material or to the tendency to give a conchoidal rather than a plane fracture, a tendency which is characteristic of the only species identified, viz. hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna* Jacq.).

1. *Organic (?) material from crown of dome over primary cremation pit.*

The specimens so labelled consisted of flat pieces of dry clay bearing on one side a layer of dark brown to black carbonaceous material at the most a few millimetres thick. This organic layer was in part flaky (though this was very likely the result of drying). Under the microscope it was seen to be for the most part fibrous, and in fact resembled wood charcoal viewed along the grain.

I had already seen parts of the lower layer of the same sort *in situ*, and had observed what appeared to be small flattened tree branches: I collected specimens of these, together with the underlying clay, but unfortunately the clay was already frozen and the specimens disintegrated completely on thawing.

I consider that the layers referred to under this heading represent in part at least the much decayed and flattened remains of pieces of tree branches laid on a clay surface.

2. *Charcoal from turf layer in the dome.*

About 20 pieces of charcoal varying from 4 cm. (diam.) \times 2.5 cm. (length) downwards; all of similar superficial appearance and displaying conchoidal fracture.

Four separate pieces were examined under the compound microscope and identified as hawthorn. The whole batch might easily have come originally from a small trunk about 8-10 cm. diameter.

3. *Charcoal from yellow clay at base of dome.*

Sixteen largish pieces of charcoal all similar in general appearance, the largest $3 \times 2 \times 3$ cm., all hawthorn. The radius of curvature of the outer surfaces suggests that several if not all of the specimens were derived from one and the same trunk which in life measured at least 5-6 cm. in diameter.

4. *Charcoal from the pit.*

The charcoals obtained from this portion of the excavation filled a tray $25 \times 17 \times 3$ cm. Seven pieces taken more or less at random were examined. The largest measured respectively $2.6 \times 1.1 \times 1.7$ cm., $0.8 \times 0.5 \times 1.8$ cm., $1.8 \times 2.7 \times 3.2$ cm., $1.9 \times 1 \times 1.5$ cm., and $0.9 \times 1 \times 1.5$ cm. All were hawthorn.

5. *Material from the Urn.*

(a) *Charcoal.* The sizable charcoal fragments had been separated from the mass of fine charcoal, (?) calcined earth, bone fragments, and other material, and filled a box $10 \times 6 \times 2.5$ cm. The contents of this box appeared to be quite homogeneous (in a botanical sense): they were all of the order of $2 \times 1.5 \times 1.5$ cm. or less, and might all have come from a small stem which when living had a diameter of approximately 4 cm. Fourteen separate determinations all showed the wood to be hawthorn.

(b) *Other plant remains* included (i) a few carbonized twigs too narrow for identification, and (ii) a large number of black needle-like bodies: these varied in diameter up to about 1 mm.; they were faintly ridged externally, and hollow; all were broken off sharply at both ends, and some were partly enclosed in a thin loose sheath. All these characters show these bodies to have been carbonized grass stalks. The mass of fine material was sifted and searched for 'hayseeds' by means of which the grass or grasses might have been more closely identified, but without success. Small portions of rachis were found, however, confirming the presence of *Gramineae*.

A Seal of Strongbow in the Huntington Library

By ANTHONY R. WAGNER, F.S.A., Portcullis Pursuivant

IN 1939, having failed after much searching to locate any extant seal of Strongbow, I gave in *Historic Heraldry of Britain* (Oxford, 1939, pp. 36-7) such particulars as I could of two which have perished, one known by a drawing, the other by a photograph and description. Soon after the book's appearance a letter from Captain R. B. Haselden informed me that what I had been seeking existed in the Huntington Library, namely, a complete and almost perfect seal of Strongbow attached to a charter formerly at Stowe. To the historian, the sigillographer, and the herald alike, this seal is of exceptional interest: to the historian, because it is the only known seal extant of an important historical figure; to the sigillographer, because of the unique design of the counterseal; and to the herald, for its bearing on the early history of one of the two or three oldest heraldic devices.

The usual arms of Clare were *Or three chevrons gules*. In 1894, however, in an article in the *Archaeological Journal* (vol. li, pp. 43-8, 'The Introduction of Armorial Bearings into England') J. H. Round announced his discovery among the Duchy of Lancaster Records in the Public Record Office (Grants in boxes, A. 157) of a seal of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford, attached to a charter which could be dated between 1141 and 1146, showing on the shield borne by the equestrian figure six diagonal ridges. Since the shield is in profile these are to be understood as the dexter halves of six chevronels. Any doubt of this that might be felt is removed by the display of seven unequivocal chevronels on the vesica-shaped seal of this earl's sister, Rohese, countess of Lincoln, to be dated soon after 1156 (Birch, *British Museum Seals*, no. 13048, attached to Harley Charter 55.E.13; *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i, p. 319).

Strongbow's father, Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, was uncle to Gilbert, earl of Hertford. No example of his seal is known to be extant, but its appearance is known from seventeenth century drawings (British Museum MSS. Lansdowne 203 and Harl. 2044, fo. 94^b) and an engraving in Bysshe's notes on Nicholas Upton (1654, p. 89). The obverse is an equestrian seal with a shield of six chevrons, closely resembling his nephew's, and legend SIGILLUM COMITIS GILLEBERTI FILII GILLEBERTI DE PEMBROC. But the counterseal is of a remarkable and uncommon type. It shows the standing figure of an armed man with one

foot well in front of the other, holding his shield of six chevrons before him and preparing to hurl with his right hand a long javelin or spear. The legend runs SIGILLUM COMITIS GILLEBERTI FILII GILLEBERTI.

J. H. Round (*Archaeological Journal*, vol. li, p. 45, n.; 'The Introduction of Armorial Bearings into England') suggests 'that the representation of the Earl fighting on foot, so strange as of itself to make this seal most interesting, may point to some then famous incident of the Earl defending himself when surprised at night'. Later, however, he took another view, which he put forward (*Arch. Journ.* lvi, 227-8, 'The Family of Clare') without allusion to the first, and which required the weapon to be an arrow not a spear. 'He holds in his right hand', he writes, 'a weapon which is clearly a formidable arrow, some six feet in length! Is it not possible, nay probable, that this design is really an allusion to the name of Strongbow which, as we have seen, this Earl Gilbert bore, and that it displays in an exaggerated form that arrow used by the men of Gwent which excited the wonder of Giraldus?'

Planché (*The Pursuivant of Arms*, 1873, pp. 70-1) thought that the diagonal bands on the shield in the seal 'which running upwards parallel to the line formed by the angular top of the shield (a very marked peculiarity in the shield of that period), on the dexter, or right-hand side presented to us, descended, I naturally infer, with the slope of the shield, on the sinister or left-hand side, and that such was the opinion of Bysshe is evident, as he blazons the arms, in Latin, thus: "scutum capreolis plenum habuit", considering them what is termed *chevronney*, that is, composed of as many chevrons as could be put of that breadth, into the field. Now it certainly appears to me evident that this shield was only strongly banded according to its form, the bands being gilt and painted alternately, and that their reduction to three, in conformity with a prevailing fashion, produced the coat of arms which we see on the seals of the later Clares, viz.—"Or, three chevrons gules".'

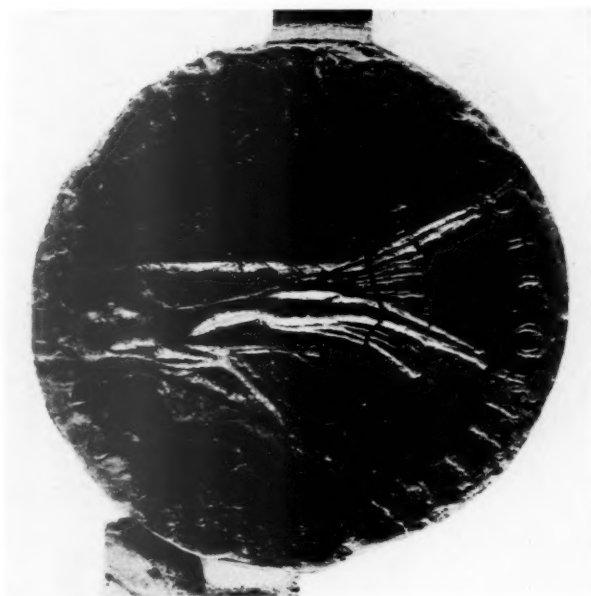
To this view Smith Ellis (*Antiquities of Heraldry*, 1869, p. 177) objected that 'in the sketch in Lansd. MS. 203, these stripes are not drawn parallel with the shield, but in the form that chevrons would assume when seen on half only of its surface'. Round agrees with this, pointing out (*Arch. Journ.*, li, 45) that the question is conclusively settled by the seal, mentioned above, of Rohese, countess of Lincoln, with its seven chevrons.

Of the two previously recorded seals of Strongbow himself, one was in existence as recently as 1878 attached to a charter (about 1172) at Kilkenny Castle. In *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of*

Ireland (Part II, p. xlv, no. LXIII, 2), issued in that year, it is described as 'a large portion of an impression of the seal of Fitz Gislebert in wax originally green, inscribed "Sigillum Ricardi filii comitis Gisleberti"'. On the obverse, a mounted knight, with a triangular shield, brandishes a sword. On the reverse stands a man at arms, in a surcoat bearing the device of De Clare, with his right foot in advance, and his right hand pushing forward a spear.

G. H. Orpen, however (*Ireland under the Normans*, vol. i, p. 395; I owe this and the Round reference to Mr. Geoffrey White), quotes a differing and probably more accurate description by the Rev. James Graves in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. i, p. 502: 'The seal appended to the document is about three inches in breadth and of rude workmanship. It bears on the obverse a mounted knight clad in a long surcoat, equipped with a heater-shaped shield, his head defended by a conical helmet furnished with a nasal, and bearing in his extended right hand a very broad sword, straight, and apparently two-edged. Of the inscription the word GILLEBERTI alone remains. The reverse is charged with the figure of a footman, wearing a surcoat reaching down half the leg, his body covered by a long shield, the right foot extended, and the spear brought down to the charge. A hood of mail and a flat skull-cap with projecting rim protect the head; and the shield is charged with three chevronels, the well-known bearing of the De Clares.' This makes it clear that the legend given in the *Facsimiles* is conjectural. And we shall see later that the conjecture is wrong. The *Facsimiles* include a photographic reproduction of the counterseal only, which though far from clear suffices to show that the figure of the 'man at arms' is very similar both to that on Earl Gilbert's seal engraved by Bysshe and to that on the Huntington counterseal. It is not clear enough to show whether 'the device of De Clare' on the shield was of six chevrons or three, but there can be little doubt that it was of six. In a worn example it would be easy to mistake the six narrow bands for the bounding lines of three broad ones, especially if one started, as Mr. Graves probably did, with a preconceived notion that the proper bearing for Clare was three chevrons. There is no indication whether the shield of the equestrian figure on the obverse was charged or not.

The charter to which this seal was attached is still at Kilkenny Castle, appearing as no. 1 in Professor Curtis's *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*. To my disappointment, however, I learned through the kindness of the owner, the earl of Ossory, that since 1878 time or a thief has been at work and the seal is now wanting.

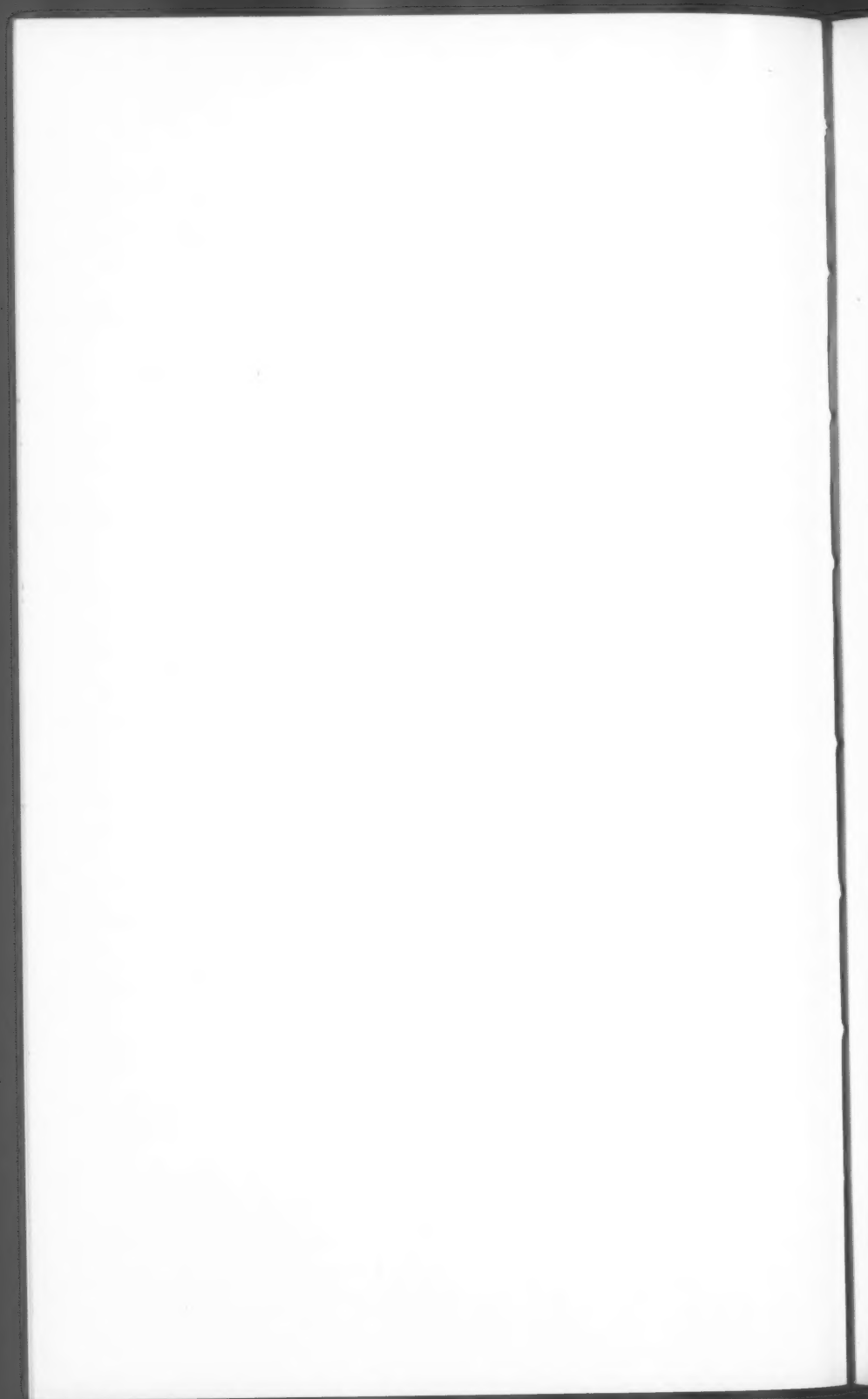


b. Reverse



a. Obverse

Seal of Strongbow in the Huntington Library (1)



The other seal was on a charter of c. 1170 (William Salt Society, New Series, vol. v, p. 212) still at Chillington, Staffordshire, the seat of the Giffard family. It has perished long since, but is known by a drawing made in 1631 (Harl. MS. 5816, fo. 36b; reproduced, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. x, p. 271). This shows an equestrian figure with a complete shield (not in profile) charged with three entire chevrons. If the drawing correctly represents its original, we must conclude that Strongbow was the first of his family to make the change from six to three chevrons, but it is possible that the seal may have been in poor condition and hard to decipher or that the draughtsman, like Mr. Graves, may have taken the six ridges for the bounding lines of the three chevrons which were familiar to him as the Clare bearing.

The Huntington Library seal is attached to a charter whereby Strongbow confirms a gift which William de Dudeford (Dadford in Stowe, co. Buckingham) and Robert and William his sons made to the monks of Biddlesden, Co. Northampton, being that part of the land in Dadford lying between 'Fourlay' and 'Manegathorn' and the wood of Westbury and 'Newbotle'. The original grant by William de Dudeford survives as Harley Charter 85 C.21, and Charters 85 C.22, 23, and 24 are confirmations by his sons Robert and William. The first witness to Strongbow's confirmation is his mother the Countess Isabel. I have not been able to date this charter at all closely, but Mr. Geoffrey White thinks it unlikely to be later than 1170, Strongbow being little in England after that date.

The obverse of the seal shows an armed equestrian figure holding a non-armorial shield with a radiating boss. The inscription runs 'SIGI[LLUM] RICARDI FILII GILLEBERTI'. The counterseal shows the same standing figure, with spear, javelin, or arrow and shield of six chevrons, whom we have seen on the Kilkenny seal of this earl and on that of his father. The legend runs '[SIGILLUM RICA]RDI COMITIS [PEM]BR[OCI]'. As plate xxx shows, the seal is in excellent condition.

Putting the evidence together, it seems clear that we have here an impression of the same seal and counterseal as that formerly at Kilkenny, and that the counterseal was simply that of Earl Gilbert with the legend altered. The obverse, however, differs from Earl Gilbert's since the shield is not armorial, having a radiating boss in place of the six chevrons. This is a somewhat remarkable reversion to an earlier type. If the drawing of the Chillington seal can be trusted, however, Strongbow had another seal in use at the same time as this one, in which the mounted figure held a shield,

not in profile, of three chevrons, apparently without a counter-seal.

As to the meaning of the Huntington counterseal I have no new theory to put forward. Round's first suggestion that it alludes 'to some then famous incident' seems more likely than his second which connects it with the nickname Strongbow. I can hardly believe that the weapon is an arrow. Not only is it, as Round himself says, 'some six feet in length', but the position of the arms indicates that it is being hurled, not merely held.

Some Recent Finds from the Trent near Nottingham

By C. W. PHILLIPS, F.S.A.

DURING the past three years the work of the Trent Navigation Company in dredging the river above Nottingham has brought to

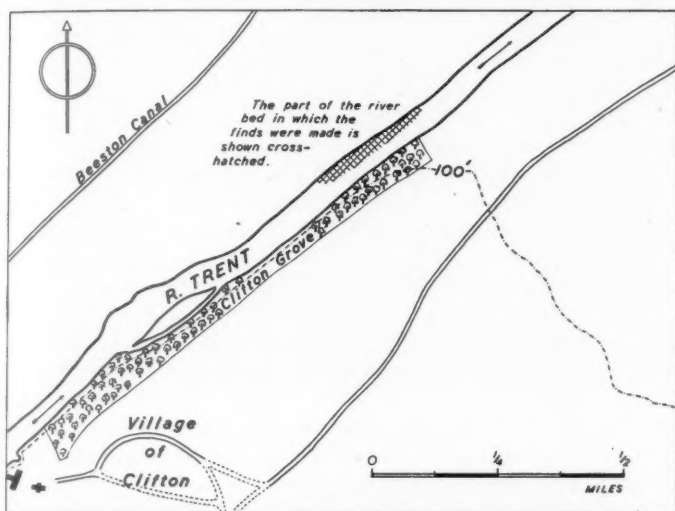


FIG. 1. Sketch map of site

light a number of interesting finds. The company's dredger has been removing large quantities of gravel from the river-bed, and in particular it has been dealing with the Clifton reach, where a large accumulation of gravel projecting from a point on the left bank directly opposite the downstream end of the tree-covered bluff called Clifton Grove has been cleared right away. This point is in the parish of Wilford, and here the river is nearly 100 yards broad with an almost straight course for a considerable distance between Clifton Grove and a wide expanse of level meadows on the left bank (fig. 1).

The dredger reached the bank of gravel in question in May 1938, and in cutting through it the crew noticed a large number of oak stakes driven into the bed of the river. These were set about a yard apart and were jokingly referred to as the 'skittle

alley'. Unfortunately no competent observer saw their removal, and later nothing remained of them but a few shrunken and warped examples thrown on the river-bank. It is difficult to be sure what was found at this stage of the work, but two large bronze spear-heads, a beehive quern, and a stone crucible as well as six human skulls seem to have come from here. No pottery was noticed, but there was some talk of bones appearing in quantity. The skulls seem to have been buried since and are not forthcoming, but the other objects, and almost all others found hereabouts since have been carefully collected by Mr. J. T. Evans, the general manager and chief engineer of the Navigation, who has presented them to Nottingham Castle Museum.

It is doubtful whether much attention would have been paid to these finds by the men who made them if it had not been for the discovery of three large dug-out boats lying side by side at the upstream end of the staked area. Their bows were pointed towards the river-bank and their sterns lay slightly downstream as though shifted by the current. The dredger struck these under some 3 ft. of gravel and they were so large that they held up the work. A general idea of their dimensions will be found in fig. 2. Of the three only two could be saved, and these were drawn out of the river and carried to the company's gravel dump, where they were kept under damp conditions until they could be removed to the Castle Museum and treated for preservation. The third boat lay farther out in the channel and its bow alone was seen. It was in a bad state of decay and on this account its preservation was not attempted.

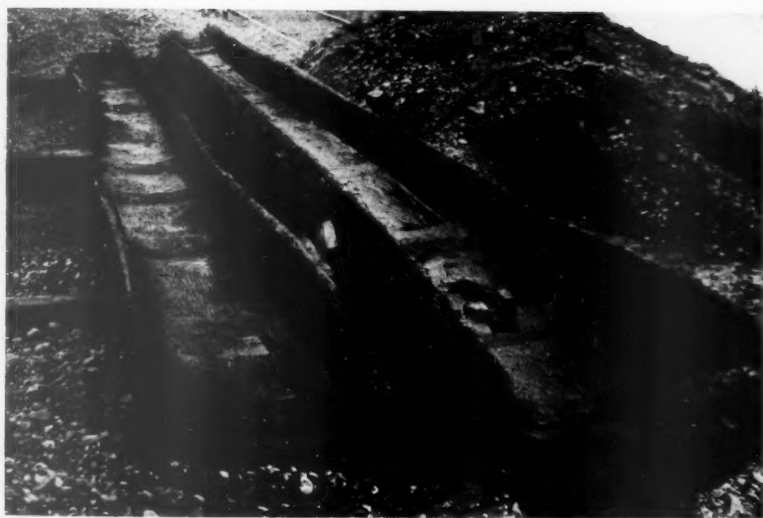
These facts as they have come to us suggest that there was some sort of a pile structure—possibly a dwelling—here, and that the boats belonged to it. All the materials from the site have been placed directly in barges by the dredger and taken to the gravel depot, where they have been put through the graders. Under these conditions none but the large and striking objects are likely to have been seen, and there is little hope of proving the real character of the site except by conducting an excavation into the river-bank in conditions of low water. This might reveal some rubbish from a settlement, but it is to be feared that the greater part of the actual pile remains have been removed. Present conditions make an excavation impracticable, and so we must content ourselves with placing the facts on record.

THE BOATS

The two boats preserved are monoxylons of large proportions and very much alike in nearly every respect (pl. xxxi). Each is



View of bow ends of boats



View of stern ends of boats, showing grooves for backboards and fragment of backboard in place

Photos by courtesy of the Nottingham Journal

1887

1887

hewn from a single oak trunk taken from a tree which was already hollow at the time of felling. The bows of both have been partly shorn off by the dredger, and the port side of no. 1 has also been much damaged. The elevation, however, shows that in each case little is missing and their lengths may be said to have been originally no. 1 28 ft., and no. 2 30 ft., presuming that they did not have any marked projection of the bow beyond the actual hollowed portion of the boat. At the stern both have a beam of 2 ft. 6 in., and they narrow as they go forward to 2 ft. and 2 ft. 3 in. respectively. Their cross-section is subrectangular, and the depth in each case is about 1 ft. Fig. 2 shows the series of shallow cross-bars left standing in the solid across the bottoms of the insides of each. These can hardly have contributed anything to the strength of the boats, but they may have served to mark out the stations of the paddlers. The gunwales were plain and showed no signs of any arrangement for increasing their height. At the stern the dug-outs were naturally open from being cut out of hollow trunks, and back boards had been fitted into deep-cut grooves and caulked with moss. These boards had rotted and were represented by no more than a fragment of that belonging to no. 2 still in position. No. 1 had signs of a repair on the port side close to the stern where a weakness had developed and had been repaired by a bevelled cleat about 1 ft. long fitted to the hole. The method of keeping it in place could not be made out. No. 1 also had a symmetrically placed rectangular hole about 2 in. deep cut in its bottom a little more than a foot from the stern. This did not come through to the inside of the boat and its purpose is not clear. No. 2 had a rectangular hole pierced right through the aftermost ridge left standing in the bottom of the boat. This was carefully plugged with a piece of wood cut to fit, which only dropped out and revealed the hole after the boat had begun to dry (pl. xxxi). The hole cannot have been of much use for draining out water, for if so it would not have been placed at a point above the normal level of the bottom.

As far as could be judged neither boat gave any recognizable sign of having been abandoned owing to age, and the good condition of the gunwales where they had not been damaged by the dredger did not suggest that they had lain half submerged for a long time, so that a considerable difference in the degree of decay between the upper and lower half of the sides might have been seen.

The boats belong to a type which is by no means uncommon in the eastern half of England where the extensive system of natural inland waterways must have encouraged water transport at an

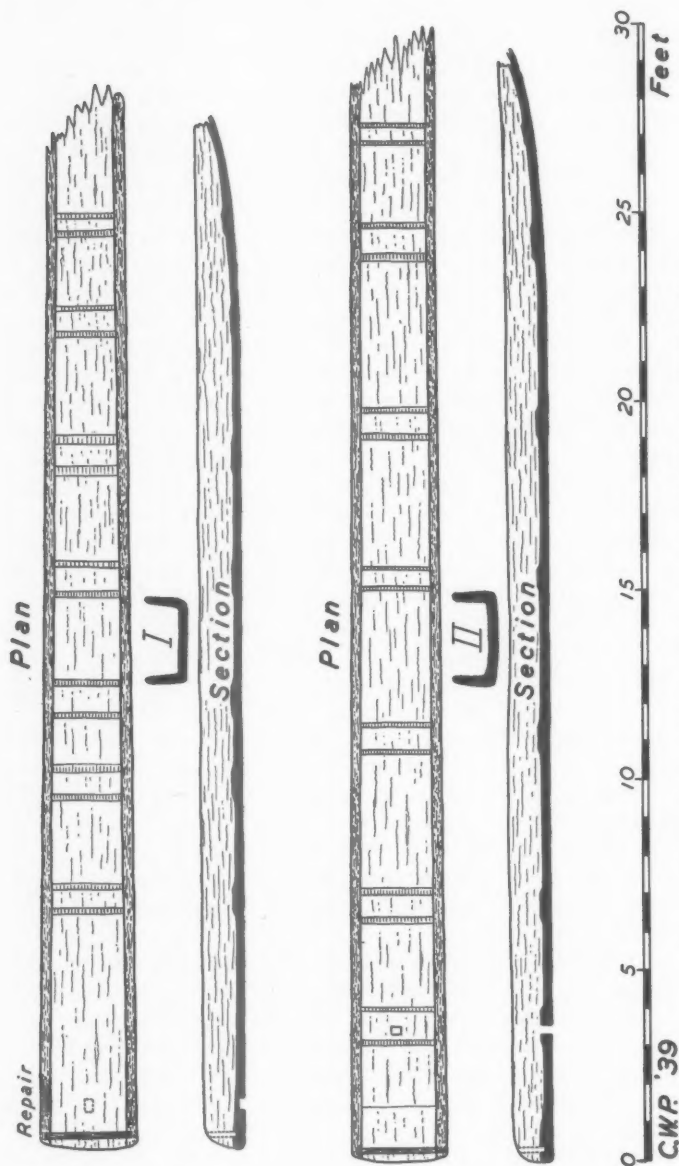


Fig. 2. Plans and sections of dug-out boats from the Trent at Wilford, Notts.

early date. The grandest example of this type is the Brigg boat, now preserved in Hull Museum. When one of these boats is found in deposits which make a pollen-analytical investigation possible we shall be able to speak more definitely about its age, but in the meanwhile there can be little reasonable doubt that it is prehistoric, that it had a long range in time, and that the bronzes found in some numbers on the same site, though not actually in the boats, are a reasonably safe guide to their age.

THE BRONZES

Among the large spears in fig. 3, no. 1 has a length of 22 in. and must be one of the finest found in England in recent years. It has a midrib socket of square cross-section extending right to the point, and the two ridges of this midrib and the lines of its junction with the blade have been decorated by lines of small punched dots. The loops are at the base of the blade and are protected by lozenge-shaped guards. The edges of the wings are bevelled. The socket when clear of the wings becomes circular in section, and at its mouth it is decorated by a circumferential fluting with six close-set narrow grooves directly above it. A lightly etched cross-hatched chevron decoration surrounds the socket above these. In spite of its beautiful workmanship and elegant form the spear-head must be regarded as a weak object of over-elaborated form, and it cannot have been of much practical value in fighting. It has demonstrated this by developing a fracture below the loops. Between the loops and the chevron decoration the socket bears a number of rough slightly oblique scorings on its surface. They appear to be a result of the spear's use, and it would be interesting to know their precise cause. Fig. 3, no. 2 is $16\frac{1}{4}$ in. long with round midrib socket and broadly bevelled wings with squared bases and simple protected loops of small aperture. Fig. 3, no. 3 is 16 in. long and very similar to no. 2 except that the midrib socket appears to have an oval section and the protected loops are elongated. This example has seen much use and has been sharpened many times, but chiefly on the right side where the wavy and imperfect outline is not the result of corrosion but of wear. The loops have been carried away on this side and the wing shortened.

Fig. 4, no. 1 is $16\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and has a strong oval-sectioned midrib socket. The wings are not bevelled and there are small protected loops of simple type. The edges are much corroded. Fig. 4, no. 2 is $18\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and is a less elaborate form of no. 1 with strong square-sectioned midrib socket, unbevelled wings, and protected loops. All these spear-heads contained the remains

of shafts when found and they form a homogeneous group which would appear to belong to the close of the Middle Bronze Age.

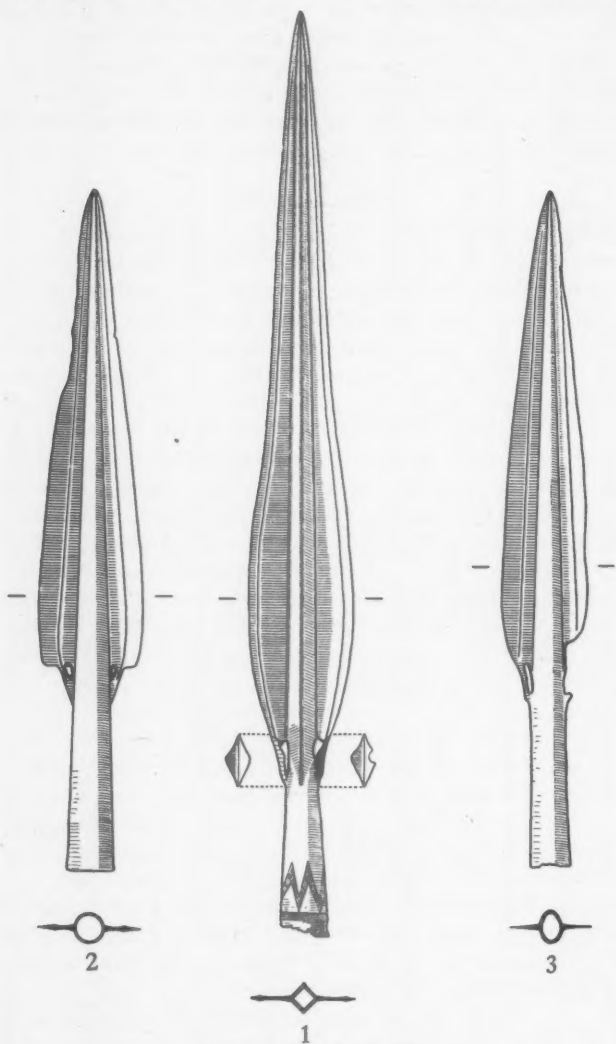


FIG. 3. Spear-heads ($\frac{1}{4}$)

There were also five smaller spear-heads slightly more divergent in type, but likely to be closely related to the first group in time. Fig. 4, no. 3 is a short, strong type $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. long with

round midrib socket, plain wings, and large loops taking the form of two asymmetrically placed lunate openings in the wings.

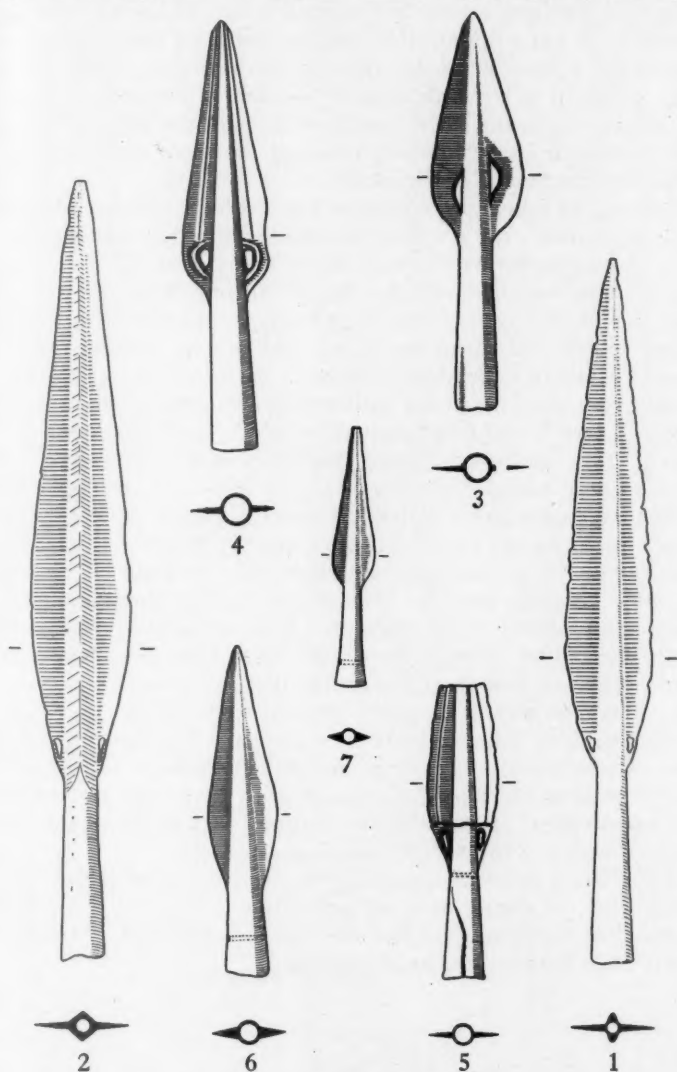


FIG. 4. Spear-heads ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Fig. 4, no. 4 is $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. long with round midrib socket, bevelled wings, and large loops well within them, each surrounded by a

raised ridge. The point of the spear has been trimmed to a blunt form, though it was probably once quite sharp. Fig. 4, no. 5 is a damaged specimen now only 7 in. long but probably once running to 10 in. It has a round midrib socket, bevelled wings, protected loops, and a pin-hole in the socket at the springing of the wings. Fig. 4, no. 6 is a simple form $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. long with a round midrib socket, no loops, and a pin-hole set well below the wings. Fig. 4, no. 7 is $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long with slight wings, damaged point, and pin-hole near the mouth of the socket.

Passing to other forms the site has yielded a number of whole and fragmentary rapiers, swords, and knives. The finest piece is a 20 in. long rapier with a stout blade (fig. 5, no. 1). The edges are strongly bevelled and the central rib passes up into the hilt plate which still retains two large rivets in position with the unusual length and diameter of 0.9 and 0.5 in. respectively. A second rapier of more slender form 17 in. long (fig. 5, no. 2) is also in very good condition and retains two small rivets in its hilt plate. There is also a leaf-shaped sword of standard type (fig. 5, no. 3) 20.5 in. long with two small rivet-holes. The lower part of a second sword (fig. 5, no. 4), 13.6 in. long, belonged to a more elaborate weapon with finely bevelled edges. There are also two bronze knives (fig. 5, nos. 5 and 6) 8.3 and 6.3 in. long respectively which have probably been contrived out of the lower halves of broken swords. One has a slightly shouldered tang while the other has a hilt plate of nearly the same breadth as the blade pierced by a single rivet-hole. Both have been hammered thin. The last is a short rapier-like dagger 10 in. long (fig. 5, no. 7) which may have been contrived from the upper part of a broken rapier. The hilt plate is of the same type as those of the two rapiers mentioned above, and the rivet-holes are similarly placed close to the top edge, though both have been broken out. An examination of the weapon suggests that it may have been originally cast in this form.

Here again this assemblage agrees well in age with the spear-heads, and we should have no difficulty in regarding them as all part of the equipment of the same group with Late Middle to Early Late Bronze Age as their period.

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

A variety of other objects has been recovered from the pile site or its close neighbourhood during the dredging, and they extend in date from the Early Bronze Age to modern times. The oldest objects are a large flat-sided stone axe of oval form (fig. 6)

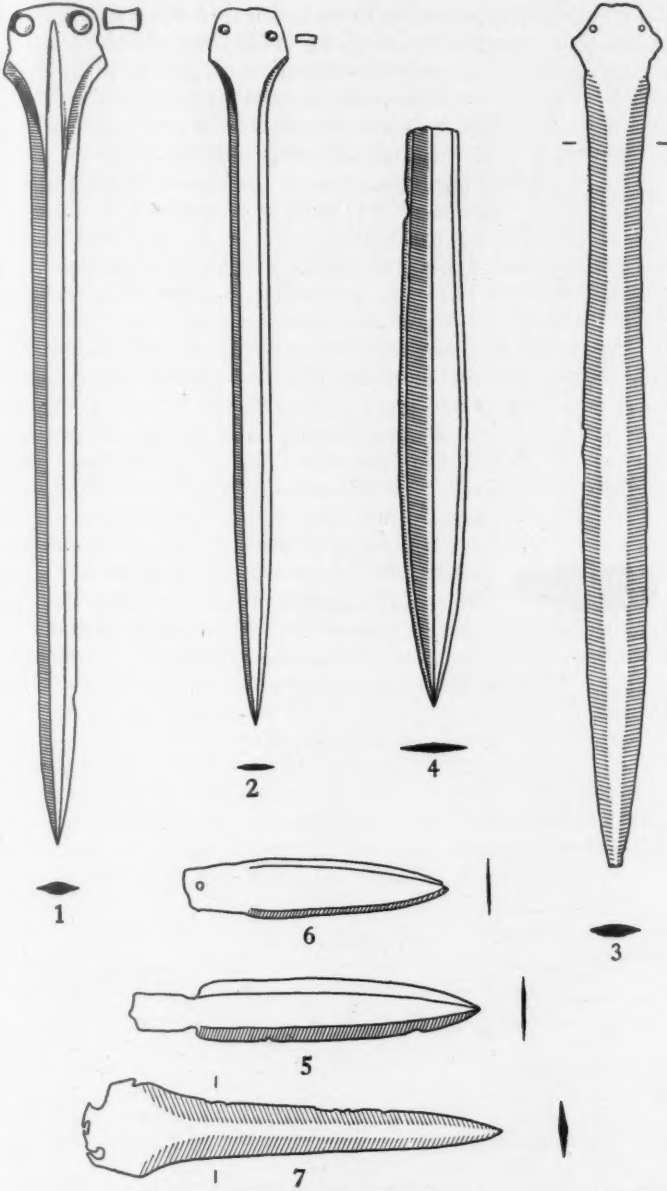


FIG. 5. Daggers (4)

and a stone hammer head with cylindrical hole. A few corroded Roman coins and some pottery, an Anglo-Saxon shield boss of simple hemispherical type, a plain Saxon cruciform fibula, and various medieval relics such as a stone pillar base need none of them be associated with the main site. Two enigmatic objects have come from this part of the river, neither of which has been seen by the writer, but he is indebted to Mr. Adrian Oswald, F.S.A., for a description. The first is a stone crucible which appears to have been found among the piles. It is a limestone (?) cylinder 1 ft. high and about the same in diameter with slightly concave sides and a cup-shaped hollow 4 in. deep occupying the top, and a slighter concavity in the bottom. The stone has been burnt to a yellow colour in the sides of the cup, and round the foot of the crucible are incrustations of metallic dross. This has been analysed through the kindness of Mr. Scott, the chief chemist of the Staveley Iron and Coal Company. The material was of two obvious types, one coppery and the other graphitic. The results of the test were as follows:

FIG. 6. Stone axe ($\frac{1}{2}$)*Coppery material*

Insoluble matter	3.40 per cent.
Alumina	7.70 "
Lime	0.59 "
Magnesia	Trace
Copper	85.16 "
Zinc	0.59 "

Graphitic material

Silica	37.20 per cent.
Alumina	20.78 "
Ferric Oxide	5.42 "
Lime	8.20 "
Magnesia	1.01 "
Copper Oxide	9.20 "
Zinc Oxide	3.80 "
Carbonaceous matter	14.00 "

The suggestion is that the finished product of which this is the residue would approximate to brass.

A second object found nearby which may be connected with this crucible is a bowl some 12 in. in diameter and 14 in. deep made of a light metallic substance similar to the matter adherent to the crucible. The bottom is flat and polished with a round shallow hole countersunk in the middle. Whatever this object may be, it does not seem probable that it is to be associated with the Bronze Age finds.

CONCLUSION

In the absence of more detailed observations at the time of the discovery it is idle to speculate on the reason for so many fine bronze weapons of generally similar date being found in the river in a general association with dug-out canoes and the remains of a pile structure. Since many of them were lost with shafts or hilts entire it is quite possible that they are relics of a skirmish, and the human skulls found may strengthen this suggestion. It is not surprising that the Trent yields up many relics of prehistoric times, for as the largest river of central England it must have been an important line of communication, and may have played some part as a route between Ireland and the Continent. It is also likely to have induced some degree of ribbon settlement along its course in all periods. Nottingham Castle Museum contains some fine bronzes found in the Trent at Colwick just below the city, and gravel-catching in the Lincolnshire stretches of the river has yielded a number of choice finds. Under present circumstances it is only possible to place the facts of the Clifton-Wilford discoveries on record and hope that in more favourable times it may be possible to make an excavation in the river-bank at the spot to see if any remains of the pile structure are still buried there.

The boats have been removed to Nottingham Castle Museum, where they are preserved with the other objects from the site. Hearty thanks are due to Mr. J. T. Evans for the great trouble he took to achieve this result and for many acts of kindness to the present writer. Mr. Adrian Oswald's local knowledge was also invaluable in gathering information about what was, at one time, a somewhat scattered body of material.

The Iron Age Horseshoe

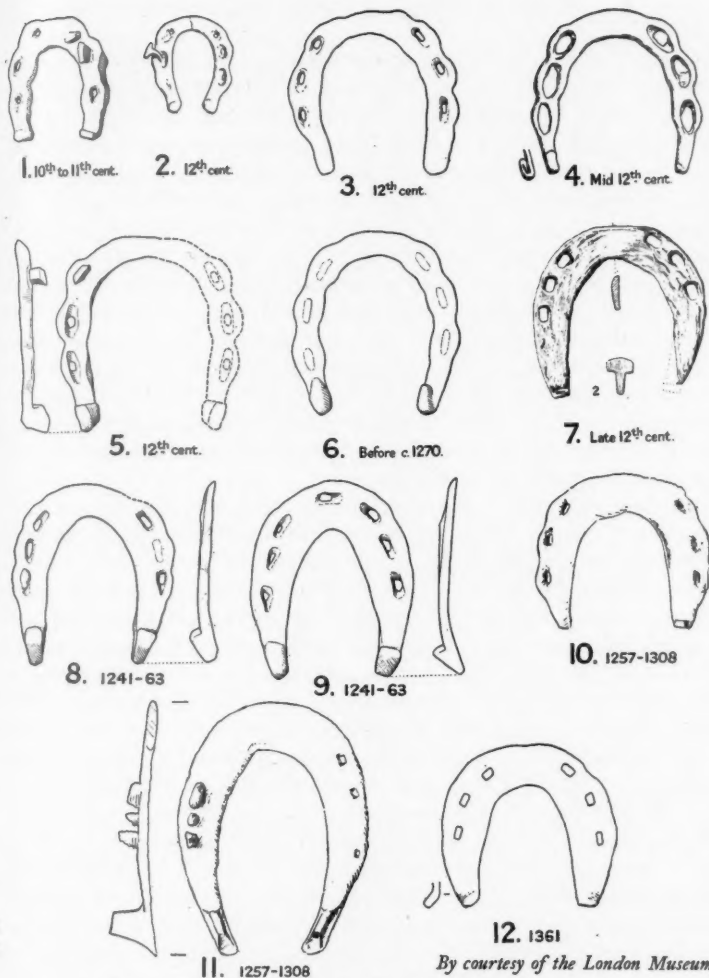
By J. WARD PERKINS, F.S.A.

IN the last number of this journal (pp. 9-27) there appeared an article by Dr. Gordon Ward on 'The Iron Age Horseshoe and its Derivatives'. Dr. Ward has a wide practical knowledge of his subject and a stimulating method of approach, but on some important aspects of his subject there is scope for considerable difference of interpretation. In suggesting certain modifications to the position which he has stated, I should like at the outset to make it clear that I am able to do so largely as the result of the work of publication and analysis undertaken by Dr. Gordon Ward himself, and by his predecessor in this field, Dr. R. W. Murray.¹ I have also to thank Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes for much useful criticism and information.

The case for an Iron Age type of horseshoe can be briefly stated, for it rests upon a single specimen found at Sheepen Farm, Colchester, in a deposit sealed by an immediately post-conquest ditch-upcast. Of the remaining early specimens quoted by Dr. Ward, one from deep, but unspecified, levels in Gloucester, and two stated to have been found with Roman material and a dubious Celtic strap-ornament in the accumulated silt of an old pond at Saffron Walden have little or no evidential value; a fourth was found with Romano-British material beneath a road-surface in Gloucester, but it has since been lost and the surviving illustration is quite inadequate. The bad evidence must not, however, be allowed to compromise the good; and in the opinion of the excavators the Sheepen Farm shoe may be accepted as almost certainly of pre-conquest date.

Of the three hundred odd other shoes which Dr. Ward assigns to this group and to its derivatives, no single one can be regarded as securely dated on external evidence. It is true that the finds associated with the 'Winchester' shoes (p. 17) are stated to have been predominantly Saxon, but this statement requires qualification. Through the kindness of the late Mrs. E. E. Hooley the writer was able to examine a great deal of the material from the city-bridge excavation, and while some was possibly of Saxon

¹ R. W. Murray, *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.* n.s. i (1936), 14-33; ii (1937), 133-44; *Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club*, xxiii (1927), 79-105; Gordon Ward, *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vii (1938), 38-43; *Trans. Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Soc.* liii (1939), 140. See also *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, 112-17.



By courtesy of the London Museum

FIG. 1. Archaeologically dated medieval horseshoes

No. 1. From Castel-Cran, Brittany (after C. de Keranflec'h-Kernezie, *Castel-Cran*, 1892, pl. III, 5). No. 2. From Caesar's Camp, Folkestone (after *Archaeologia*, xlvii, 1882, pl. xviii). No. 3. From Lake Paladru, Isère (after E. Chantre, *Les Palafittes du lac de Paladru*, pl. IV, 4). No. 4. From the ditch-silting at Pevensey Castle. No. 5. From a cooking-pit at Kalesgrove, Reading (*Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, xiii, 122). No. 6. From Rayleigh Castle, Essex (*Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s., xii, 1912, pl. E). No. 7. From a midden at Woody Bay, Isle of Wight (*Proceedings of the Isle of Wight Natural Historical and Archaeological Society*, ii, 1937, 681, fig. 5, 1-2). Nos. 8-9. From Dyserth Castle (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, xv, 1915, p. 65). Nos. 10-11. From Ragnhildsholmen, Sweden. No. 12. From the Mass-Graves at Visby, Gotland.

date, the majority belonged undoubtedly to the Middle Ages and later. It may be noted that the small scramasax-knives quoted by Dr. Ward in this connexion remained current at least as late as the fourteenth century.¹ And in any case, the evidence of association in the silted river-channel must be regarded as of negligible value. The same is true to a lesser degree of the 'West Orchard' shoes (pp. 21-3).² The ford in which they were found probably did indeed go out of use when the adjacent bridge was built at some date before 1448, but, as a limiting date, that does not tell us very much. The shoes could not in any case be later than the fourteenth century. There may perhaps be 'no harm in conjecturing that the whole of these West Orchard shoes were lost in the ford during the building of the great Minster of Leofric and Godiva'; but at best it still remains a guess, at worst it suggests an approximation to an exact chronology which the known facts cannot possibly justify.

Perhaps the most serious ground for dispute, however, lies in Dr. Ward's assertion (p. 23) that a limiting date for the 'Iron Age' type is to be sought in the eleventh or early twelfth century. It is true that a horseshoe of very different type, made from a flat piece of iron (like the 'Winchester' group) but lacking both the countersunk depressions for the nails and the corresponding waved outline, was found in a late twelfth-century midden at Woody Bay, Isle of Wight. It is not, however, the earliest dated medieval shoe, nor is it in any way typical of early medieval types. Fig. 1 illustrates a series of a dozen horseshoes from datable medieval deposits in this country and abroad. It will be seen that Dr. Ward's 'Iron Age' type lasted at least as late as the middle of the thirteenth century, while the Woody Bay shoe appears rather as an early precursor of later medieval forms. The overlap need cause no surprise. As we shall see, a precisely similar duality of usage can be demonstrated archaeologically from Roman Britain.

The numerical evidence of datable specimens might even be taken to show that the majority of surviving horseshoes of this type belong to the Middle Ages. Attempts have, it is true, been made to show that the medieval shoes can be distinguished from their Romano-British predecessors by the use of square, as distinct from round, nail-holes; but the evidence is scanty and not wholly consistent, and it would be wiser, until more accumulates, to admit that there is at present no sound criterion by which a

¹ *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, pp. 38, 51.

² Cf. *Trans. and Proc. Birmingham and Midland Arch Soc.* lviii (1934), pl. xiv, a similar shoe found also at Coventry in association with a fetter-lock of the later Middle Ages.

shoe of the Romano-British period may be distinguished from one of the twelfth century. Whatever the typological and chronological subdivisions of the series, however, there can be no doubt of the broad conclusion that horseshoes of Dr. Ward's 'Iron Age' type remained in use well on into the Middle Ages.

Judged simply in terms of internal coherence, Dr. Ward's classification is often convincing and may yet serve as a valuable basis for some future study. It is in the interpretation of his results that there is room for dispute. We may ask, for example, whether the idiosyncrasies of the various groups can properly be regarded as chronological pointers. The limited distribution of the features peculiar to the 'Winchester Group' and to the 'West Orchard Group' from Coventry, suggests that local tradition played at least as important a part as any broader current of development. Furthermore we know that this type of shoe was in use in the first century A.D., and again in the twelfth. Are we entitled therefrom to assume continuity? To do so is surely to beg the question at issue.

It seems to be generally admitted that the classical Italians did not use any sort of nailed-on horseshoe, and Dr. Ward is therefore justified in rejecting the title 'Roman' for this class of shoe. He would regard it as current in Roman Britain, but as derivative from pre-Roman types. On the other hand, the alternative which he proposes, 'the Iron Age horseshoe', can only be accepted with considerable reserve. It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that no horseshoe has ever been recorded from an undisturbed pre-Belgic deposit in this country. The chariot-burials of Yorkshire afford the very strongest presumptive evidence that they were unknown to the Iron Age B invaders of northern Britain; and the growing body of objects of horse-harness and equipment found on late prehistoric sites elsewhere serves at least to underline the absence of a single recognizable fragment of a horseshoe. This result is not really very surprising when we reflect that the function of a horse shoe is to protect the horse's hoof from wear on hard roads, and that, prior to the arrival of the Romans, the only cross-country roads were muddy pack-trails and grassy Downland tracks.¹

The Colchester shoe may belong chronologically to the British pre-Roman Iron Age. But it must be regarded as very doubtful whether it had a native ancestry. The form of horseshoe which Dr. Ward has made the object of his study is widely distributed in north-western Europe. Many, perhaps the majority, belong

¹ The metallised roads of Belgic Colchester and Maiden Castle were a continental innovation—as, it may be suggested, were the horseshoes that trod them.

to the Middle Ages. At Lund, in Sweden, they are common in levels ranging from the foundation of the city by Cnut up to the close of the fourteenth century.¹ An interesting deposit sealed beneath, and immediately preceding, a mid-fourteenth-century log-road at Schloss Hallwil, Switzerland, contained four horseshoes, one of which was of this type, while the remainder were of more massive form with a smooth profile and small nail-holes.² The same medieval site produced a number of unstratified specimens of the former type. If confirmation were needed, it is to be found in contemporary sculpture, e.g. on the famous statue of the Rider in Bamberg Cathedral. It has even been claimed by some German writers that all horseshoes of this form are post-Roman;³ but while a great many specimens that were once classed as 'Roman' are undoubtedly of medieval date, the discovery of a British horseshoe of unquestionably first-century date suggests a possibility of special pleading. It would seem reasonable to admit that some at least of the horseshoes found on Roman sites in Germany are what at first sight they profess to be, and that this form of shoe, though perhaps uncommon, was already in use. Whether there was continuity from Roman to medieval times is another matter. It is by no means impossible that the medieval horseshoe was an entirely fresh invention. At present we can hardly do more than state the fact, that shoes very similar to those which were later common in the Middle Ages had already been used in Roman Germany, and leave the question of origin in suspense.

The evidence from France is even less conclusive than from Germany; but, as in this country, it is matched by the complete absence of any trace of the use of horseshoes before the Roman conquest. If we may hazard one guess against another, it is that the form of horseshoe under discussion was developed in Roman Gaul to meet the needs of the metalled roads which the conquerors brought with them. But let us remember that that too is a guess. All we know at present is that at least one horseshoe of this type has been found in this country in an almost certainly pre-conquest context. It may prove to be a coincidence that it was found on the one site above all others which was in close contact with the continent; but on balance it would seem more likely that it marks

¹ Information from Dr. R. Blomqvist.

² N. Lithberg, *Schloss Hallwil*, Pl. 56, Nos. B, E, H, and J.

³ Fr. Winkelman, *Germania*, xii (1928), 135-43, which advances the ingenious theory that these shoes, with their projecting nails, were derived from a Viking device for use on ice. Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes called my attention to this article. See also D. v. Schlieben, 'Die Hufeisen-Frage', *Annalen für Nassauische Altertumskunde*, xx (1884), 334 ff.

the impact of contemporary Gallo-Roman ideas on the late pre-Roman Belgic kingdom than that it formed any integral portion of the established insular tradition. If that is so the term 'Iron Age horseshoe' is valid only in a very limited sense, and it would perhaps be wiser to avoid it.

While the continuity between the Claudian horseshoe from Colchester and the early medieval specimens of the same form must, in this country at any rate, remain a matter of conjecture, there seems no reason to reject as intrusive all those that have been found on Romano-British sites. It is interesting therefore to note that it was not the only type of horseshoe current in Roman Britain. At Maiden Castle in 1935 Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler found a number on and in the late-Roman metallurgy of the East Gate, securely dated by the overlying deposits to the late fourth or early fifth century.¹ They have a smooth profile, three nail-holes in each half, and in some cases a small back-turned calkin. The type and the date of these shoes are clear enough, but of their antecedents we can at present say nothing. They may serve as a timely reminder of the need for caution and for further evidence before generalization can serve any useful purpose.

¹ See *Soc. Antiq. Report, Maiden Castle*, forthcoming.

Notes

Hoard of Axes from Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire.—Mrs. B. H. St. J. O'Neil sends the following note: Since the publication of the hoard of bronze socketed axes found at Bourton-on-the-Water in 1907 in this *Journal*¹ further details have been forthcoming from the finder, Mr. Bowles, formerly of Lower Slaughter, Gloucestershire.

It appears that eight axes in all were found, buried in an unusual manner, arranged in four pairs in a circle in a hole which was a little over 2 ft. in depth. Mr. Bowles's description, by letter, is as follows: 'Below 25 or 26 inches of soil I came upon some flat stones arranged one overlapping the other in a large circle, with one large flat one on the top to keep the rest in place. After carefully removing these I found four pairs of axes of different sizes, arranged two and two in a circle in the hole, with hardly any soil on them at all.'

No parallels in this country for this method of burial of bronze axes in gravel appear to be known. It is of interest to note that in addition to the axes being placed in a circle the arrangement of the stones directly above suggests something in the nature of a roof constructed in beehive fashion.

Whether the Bourton hoard can be considered as an example of a votive burial, at present had better remain an open question until further finds help with corroborative evidence, but the careful arrangement of the axes does not suggest the hastily hidden store of a bronze founder.

For ceremonial burial of bronze objects the finds from Arreton Down, Isle of Wight,² may be quoted, where 'axes laid on spear heads in a regular order about a foot deep' were found. At Thrunton Farm,³ near Whittingham, Northumberland, a hoard of two swords and three spear-heads was found, sticking in the moss with points downwards, in a circle; at Luggton-rigge farm⁴ near Giffin Castle, Ayrshire, five or six shields placed on edge so as to form a ring in a peat moss; and again at Grunty Fen,⁵ Cambridgeshire, 'three bronze celts contiguous to each other' were found, the latter also in a peat deposit.

The Breton votive deposits of large numbers of socketed axes are also relevant in the present context. In particular, attention may be drawn to finds at Maure-de-Bretagne (Ille-et-Vilaine) of a hoard of about 4,000 axes, fastened together by metal wires passed through the loops, and at Montreuil-le-Gast (Ille-et-Vilaine), a hoard of 30 or 40 small axes arranged in a circle, the cutting edges towards the centre and held together by a bronze wire through the loops.⁶ There is also the find of 80 bronze celts placed one about the other in a regular order in a square chamber, the sides of which were composed of dry walling from the Pontaven district.⁷

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xii, 284, fig. 3; xv, 196, fig. 1.

² *Arch.* xxxvi, ii, 326-31.

³ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* v, 429.

⁴ *Ibid.* xxxi, 151.

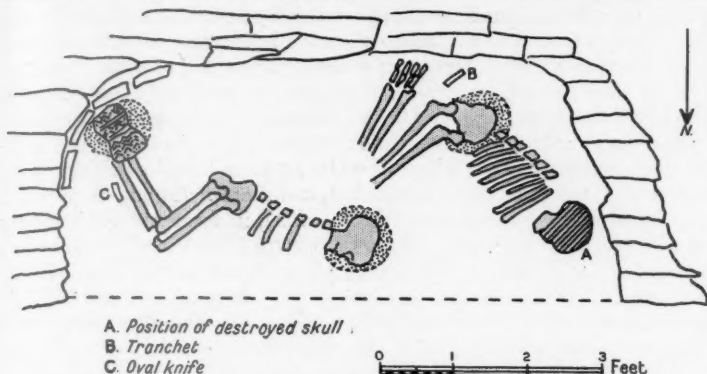
⁵ *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* xii, 96-105.

⁶ *Déchelette, Manuel d'Archéologie*, ii, 254; Appendice I, p. 60, nos. 379 and 380.

⁷ *Arch. Camb.* 1859, p. 185.

For help with comparative material I am much indebted to Miss L. F. Chitty, F.S.A., Sir Cyril Fox, Ph.D., V.-P.S.A., and Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A.

A Beaker Burial near Corston, Bath.—Dr. and Mrs. Crook communicate the following: In May 1940 our attention was drawn to some human



Beaker burial from Corston: plan

bones exposed in the face of a quarry near Corston, in which a beaker burial had been found in 1931.¹ The bones occurred at a depth of 2 ft. below the top of the quarry face. There were no covering slabs, and at only one point was anything approaching a lateral boundary to the disturbed area demonstrable, where a few small stones appeared to be set on edge. There was no trace of a covering mound in the ploughed field above the burial, nor of a ditch.

Three individuals were represented—two of them being adolescents lying on their left sides in a contracted position, with heads towards the west. One skull had been almost entirely destroyed by quarrying; the other proved to be markedly brachycephalic, having a breadth index of 88.9. A few bones of an infant were also encountered.

Near the feet of the more westerly skeleton there was a flint tranchet of fine workmanship, and near the shins of the brachycephalic skeleton an equally fine oval knife. On the feet of this skeleton lay a crushed beaker, while under the feet and skull were little areas paved with small stones. A similar paved area lay under the pelvis of the western skeleton.

It was possible to reconstruct the beaker entirely. It proved to be of type A and was about 7 in. high, ornamented with a chevron design applied with the 'cogged wheel' technique. There were two plain zones, one at the extreme upper limit of the body, and the second half-way between this point and the base. The junction of the neck and body was well defined and was placed at about the middle of the vessel.

Enemy action has unfortunately deprived us of the skeletal remains,

¹ *University of Bristol Spelaeological Society Proceedings*, iv, 128.

flints, and beaker, but it is hoped to publish a fuller account of the find, already written, when it is next possible to produce a further number of the proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society.

Discoveries at Verulamium, 1940.—Mr. Philip Corder, F.S.A., sends the following note: In March 1940 a 9-in. sewer was laid by the corporation of St. Albans about 500 ft. south of the south-east defences of the Roman city, and approximately parallel to them. The narrow trench cut across Watling Street at right angles, not far from the spot where it was examined in 1930 (*Verulamium*, pp. 63-4). The section confirmed the description then given, but added nothing to it. To the west of Watling Street there was no sign whatever of Roman occupation, but east of the road several rubbish-pits were cut through, the largest of which, 5 ft. wide and 4½ ft. deep, was filled with dark earth, burnt food bones, and sherds. Among these was a small black bowl of Belgic type (fig. 3, no. 4), in form and fabric closely resembling a large bowl from the Belgic city in Prae Wood (*Verulamium*, fig. 17, 51), and in date, therefore, probably not later than the middle of the first century. Part of the base of a Samian dish, form 18, stamped OFFCA/ (probably OFF CALVI—Nero-Domitian) was also found, together with numerous second-century sherds. In 1936 Belgic sherds, not until now published, were discovered east of Watling Street, but nearer St. Stephen's, in 'Brescia' field (*St. Albans & Herts. A. & A. Trans.* 1936, p. 27) (fig. 3, nos. 1-3). These finds taken together point to a straggling occupation along the line of Watling Street in the direction of London as early as the Claudian period, when the road was laid out, and continuing, in all probability, until the building of the second-century city.

Still farther east, on Hills Farm, the trench cut across an interesting brick-lined grave of unusual type (fig. 1). A rectangular pit about 11 ft. 6 in. long and 4 ft. wide had been excavated below Roman ground-level and within this had been constructed a tile-built grave 6 ft. 9 in. long and 1 ft. 10 in. wide internally. The floor of the grave consisted of a spread of mortar upon the undisturbed gravel and clay, but at the north-east end, where the ground was falling away towards the river, there had been a certain amount of levelling up with lumps of flint laid in chalk before the floor was laid. The lowest course of masonry consisted of whole box-tiles laid end to end. These were all re-used, several showing traces of mortar different from that used in the construction of the grave, and one of them still having a little red-painted wall-plaster adhering to it. Eleven box-tiles had been employed, but these had proved insufficient in number, and on both sides large pieces of flint embedded in mortar had been used to eke them out. One of the box-tiles on the north side of the grave had already been damaged when the grave was built, and lacked one of its sides. To bring it up to the level of the others, upon which the walls of the grave were built, a large lump of flint had been inserted within it.

Upon these tiles the walls were standing four courses to a height of 14 in. They consisted of re-used tiles of normal type, 1½ in. thick and about a foot long. They had mostly been broken to a width of 6-8 in., and the space between them and the sides of the original pit was packed with flints

and mortar, thick layers of which separated the tiles themselves. At the west end of the grave one course of tiles remained above these, projecting inwards for 2 in. In one place on the north side part of a broken flanged roof-tile was apparently still in position. This was all that remained of the

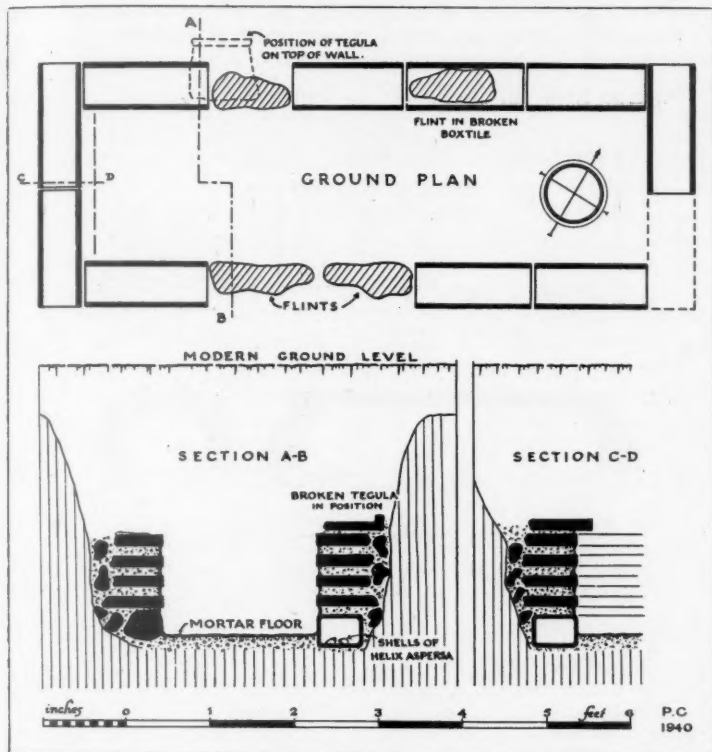


FIG. 1. Tile-built grave at Verulamium

roof, except for numerous fallen *tegulae* that lay in confusion within the grave. Beyond the fact that *tegulae* had certainly been used in the construction of the roof nothing more could have been said about it, were it not that a similar grave with its roof intact was found in the same field on 5th November 1877 (fig. 2). An excellent drawing of this made at the time by Rev. H. Fowler is in the Verulamium Museum, and a good account appeared in *The Times* for 10th November 1877.¹

The construction of the walls of this grave were also of box-tiles and bricks, but no flints were employed, and two sets of box-tiles laid side by

¹ The account of this find in *V.C.H. Herts.*, vol. iv, p. 137, is based upon this, and the plan and section (fig. 2) are based upon the drawing of the Rev. H. Fowler.

side were used at head and foot of the grave. The description of the roof may be quoted verbatim:

The tomb was covered in by an arrangement of bricks having the upper courses overlapping the lower, so as to form a sloping roof. Outside these, the roof was coped by similar bricks laid slanting, and in place of a ridge-piece was a course of flanged or channelled bricks surmounted by the upper edge of the slanting ones.

It is clear from this description and from the drawing that no attempt

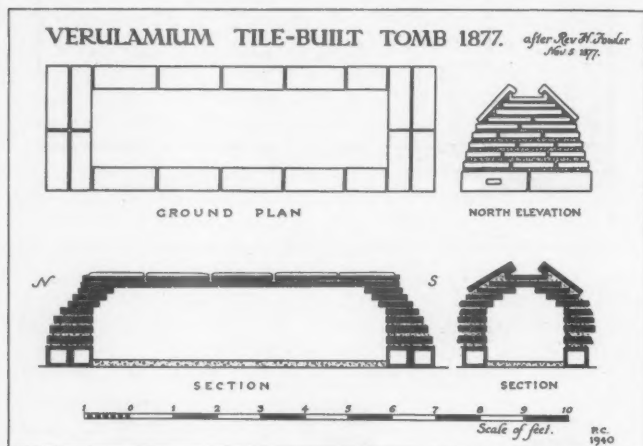


FIG. 2

had been made to imitate a house-roof; the ridge had been formed of *tegulae* with their flanges uppermost, the sides and ends of sloping *tegulae* with their flanges overlapping these. The whole lay beneath Roman ground-level, and no trace was recorded of a superstructure or monument.

Within the grave was the extended skeleton of a man. The skull was sent to the Museum of Comparative Anatomy at Oxford, and the rest of the bones were reinterred. Iron nails and small fragments of wood indicated that a wooden coffin had been used. Some bird bones that lay on the right of the skull attested the burial of food with the body. A small pot in fragments came from the right side of the hip.¹

No record is known of the previous discovery of the grave found in 1940, but that it had been broken into before was clear. The skull was not to be found, and the rest of the skeleton was huddled in disorder at the south corner of the grave, where some demolition of the walls had taken place. Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark, F.R.S., of the Department of Human Anatomy, University Museum, Oxford, who has kindly examined the bones of the pelvis and legs, reports that they are those of a fully mature woman,

¹ What was possibly a third grave of the same type was opened by the late Wm. Page, F.S.A., in 1893 in the same field (*V.C.H. Herts.* iv, 137).

5 ft. 6½ in. in height. Several iron nails, indicating the use of a wooden coffin, were the only finds in the grave itself. During the filling in of the trench a delicate bronze ring-key, 1½ in. in diameter, was found. This could only have been worn by a woman, and it is probable that it came from the grave.

The grave had to be removed, as its long axis lay in the track of the sewer. In the course of demolition an interesting point came to light. Several of the box-tiles forming the lowest course of the walls contained numbers of shells of *Helix aspersa*. These were incrustated with the same lime-scale that covered many of the human bones, a deposit that would take a very long period to accumulate. It is certain, therefore, that these snails had crawled into the hollow box-flues during the construction of the grave and before it was roofed. This species, which was freely used as food in Roman times, hibernates in the autumn, usually in October, at which season the original burial must have taken place.

Apart from the two graves in the same cemetery, already mentioned, close parallels appear to be lacking. Cists composed of *tegulae* containing cinerary urns are common, and so are graves of triangular section formed of sloping *tegulae* capped by a ridge of *imbrices*. These cover both cremated remains and coffins, and are most frequently met with at legionary fortresses.¹ But our Verulamium graves bear little resemblance to this type of burial in which roofing-tiles are used merely as a protection for an urn or coffin. Masonry tombs, made of bricks, and occasionally employing box-tiles, are not uncommon. A series of barrows at Rougham, Suffolk, opened in 1843-4, contained several examples.² One of these was a cist, 2 ft. 6 in. square and 2 ft. high, composed of four rows of box-tiles, arched over with tiles. A neighbouring barrow contained a somewhat similar cist built of five courses of ordinary tiles. Its roof, like that of the grave found in 1877 at Verulamium, was 'formed by courses of bricks overlapping each other until they could be closed by a single course at the apex'.³ The stamped Samian vessels found in it point to a mid-second-century date for this burial. The largest of the Rougham barrows contained a flint and brick tomb on a concrete platform 15 ft. square. Its barrel-vault had a gabled roof of sloping *tegulae*, the ridge of which was formed of box-tiles. The internal dimensions of the chamber, which contained a lead coffin, were 7½ ft. long and 4½ ft. wide, the side walls standing 2 ft. high. The whole structure, which formed the diminutive model of a roofed building, was buried in the barrow. A brick barrel-vault, 6 ft. high, forms the roof of a stone-built chamber, containing a stone coffin, found in 1807 on the Mount, York.⁴ It has been surmised that a portion of this stood above ground, and it certainly was constructed beside a main road, where inscribed tombstones have frequently occurred.

¹ *A Handbook to the Antiquities in the grounds and Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (1891), pp. 66-7; Gordon Home, *Roman York*, p. 158, fig. 4; Ludowici, *Römische Ziegelgräber, Rheinzabern 1908-12*, figs. 197-206.

² *Gentleman's Magazine* 1843, Part II, pp. 190, 524-8; 1844, Part II, pp. 369-75; *V.C.H. Suffolk*, i, 315.

³ *Arch. Journ.* lvii, 97.

⁴ Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, p. 107; *Arch.* xvi, 340.

Many other instances of tile-built tombs could be cited, but none forms so close a parallel to the Verulamium tombs as two *Kastengräber* at Rhein-zabern figured by Ludowici.¹ Both his graves XIV and XVIII were tile-built, though without including the use of box-tiles. In dimensions they were similar to the Verulamium graves, both containing an extended inhumation, but grave XIV was lined with *tegulae* set on edge, and grave XVIII had a flat roof formed of seven large rectangular tiles.

The Verulamium graves belong then to an uncommon type that falls between the Legionary tile-graves and the more formal and larger tile-built tombs, whether beneath barrows or forming the substructure of funerary monuments. There was no indication whatever that the Verulamium graves had been covered by barrows, though centuries of ploughing might have levelled and dispersed these. It is certain that they did not form a substructure to a monument, but were wholly subterranean.

In the absence of grave-furniture, little can be said about the date of these graves. The extended inhumations found during the construction of the Lake, to the north of Hills Farm, are assigned by Dr. Wheeler to the third and fourth century.² Early in the fourth century there was much rebuilding in the Roman city, and at this time quantities of building material would be available for re-use in the construction of such tombs.

Belgic—Claudian Pottery found in the ditch east of Watling Street, 'Brescia' Field, 1936 (fig. 3, nos. 1–3).

1. Belgic bowl in soft brown ware with smooth, somewhat 'soapy' surface. Inturned bead-rim with flanged shoulder. A triple cordon on the upper part of the shoulder, and shallow furrows on the body beneath a girth-cordon. The base is restored by analogy with a similar bowl from Colchester (Type 252 unpublished).

The chief records of this type of bowl are from pre-Roman graves in Essex (Braintree—*Col. Mus. Rep.* 1905, p. 15; Lexden—*Col. Mus. Reps.* 1904, p. 17 and 1909, pl. vi, 11; Danbury—*Antiq. Journ.* xiii, fig. 2, 5). Similar types from the same area were found at Creeksea (*Col. Mus. Rep.* 1926, p. 10) and Southminster (*Col. Museum* 165.00). A similar bowl, but with out-bent rim, from Sainte-Beuve-en-Rivière, Seine-Inférieure, is assigned by Hawkes and Dunning to the early first century B.C. (*Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, fig. 16, 56), while related forms from Prae Wood, group C, are dated A.D. 5/10–30/35 (*Verulamium*, fig. 22, 3 and 4). Mr. M. R. Hull, to whom I am indebted for notes on the Essex examples, tells me that similar rims occur at Sheepen in periods I–IV, that is from pre-Roman times until A.D. 61.

2. Bag-shaped beaker in hard brown to black ware of rather sandy texture. Bead rim, with one shallow cordon around the upper part of the body.

3. Belgic cook-pot in soft gritty grey clay, with 'soapy' red to black surface. The deep furrowing of the shoulder has been done on the turntable when the clay was moist. This pot is identical in style and fabric with the common cook-pot from Prae Wood (cf. *Verulamium*, type 61).

¹ Ludowici, *loc. cit.*, pp. 209–10.

² *Verulamium*, p. 136.

Belgic Bowl found in a pit east of Watling Street during the laying of a sewer, 1940 (fig. 3, no. 4).

4. Hard black ware. The high waved shoulder is polished, and the rim

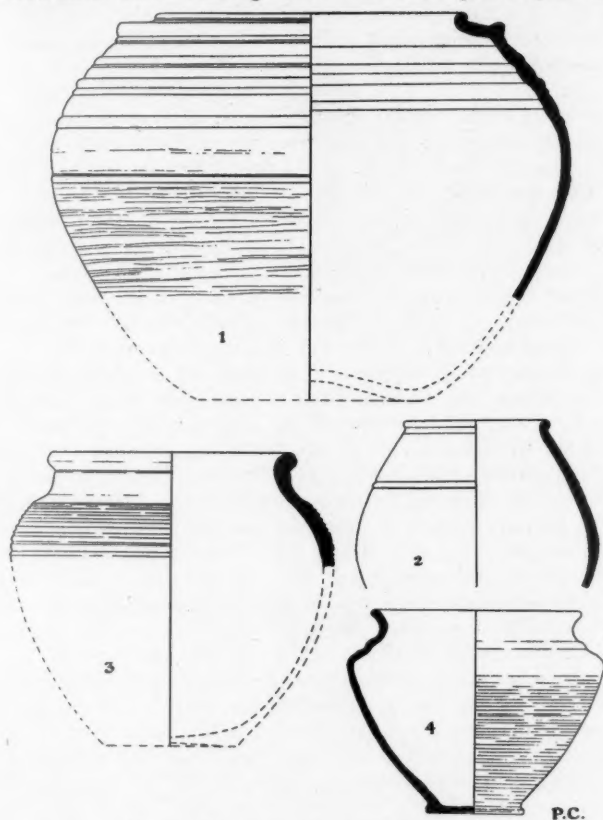


FIG. 3. Belgic pottery from Verulamium

smoothed. Below the shoulder the body is furrowed with shallow burnished grooves made on the wheel. The base is slightly raised.

In ware and form this bowl closely resembles the large bowl from Prae Wood (*Verulamium* 51), though it lacks the cordon at the neck of the latter. A bowl of similar outline comes from Colchester (type 222, unpublished). The waved neck is a Belgic feature (cf. *Verulamium*, 11), but one that appears to survive at Richborough into the second century (*Richborough*, ii, 144; iii, 273). A bowl with similar outline, but more delicately formed rim, came from the earliest occupation of Brough-Petuaria (*Brough*, iv, fig. 10, 7) and dates from the middle of the first century. A still closer parallel, not, however, dated, is the bowl found with another of Iron Age C

and three of A 2-type at Salome Lodge, Hunts. (*Antiq. Journ.* xviii, pl. Lxi, 4); another comes from the early Romano-British hut settlement on the foreshore of the Thames at Tilbury (*London Museum Catalogue*, No. 3, fig. 56, 3).

In view of the position of the rubbish-pit in which this vessel was found, it probably belongs to the Claudian period.

Persistence of Viking types of sword.—Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins, F.S.A., contributes the following: In a recent volume of this *Journal* (xviii, 1938, pp. 256–7, fig. 5) Mr. L. R. A. Grove published a carving of a sword of Viking type now built into the wall of the church of Ebberston, near Scarborough. It formed, perhaps, part of a grave-slab, and it illustrates a developed specimen of Dr. Wheeler's Viking type VI (*London and the Vikings*, London Museum Catalogue, no. 1, p. 32). The chape on the scabbard may be compared with that on the effigy of William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, d. 1226, in Salisbury Cathedral, and the carving is probably rightly assigned to the twelfth or early thirteenth century.

The persistence of Viking types of weapons and of tools long after the Norman Conquest is an established fact of early medieval archaeology; and nowhere is it better illustrated than in the contemporary representations of swords of the twelfth and even of the thirteenth centuries. An effigy in Gloucester Cathedral, traditionally that of Robert of Normandy and erected as late as the close of the thirteenth century (Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, pls. 22–3), portrays a sword of which the pommel is still only a somewhat developed version of the same Viking type VI or of type VII (fig. 1). It would be possible to quote many such examples (see *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, pp. 22–4, fig. 2), but it is the special purpose of this note to call attention to a single example, a representation of a sword on an effigy in Furness Abbey which has hitherto escaped attention (fig. 2). The effigy is one of two found in the nave and now preserved in the infirmary. They are very alike in style and dress and are clearly the work of a single craftsman. Both wear a surcoat, fastened at the waist with a narrow, metal-mounted belt. The legs are entirely mail-clad, and the spurs have a slightly curved body with a slotted terminal to the inner arm; the outer terminal is concealed by the free end of the strap. Both carry a large, heater-shaped shield and a heavy, cylindrical helmet, slightly convex on the upper surface and sloped gently back from the horizontal eye-slit. The swords are held, drawn, and point upwards, at the right side. The pommel of one is damaged; the quillons are short and straight. The other sword is illustrated in fig. 2. It has a graceful pommel with five lobes, short, curved quillons, and a stout blade with a broad, fullered groove reaching nearly to the point.

The armour is that of the later-thirteenth century. The helmet in particular can be dated within reasonably precise limits. The form is transitional between the tall cylindrical helm, open at the face, which was current in the early thirteenth century (e.g. that depicted on the so-called effigy of Geoffrey de Mandeville in the Temple Church, London, *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments*, London, iv, 182, no. 5; cf. G. Laking,

European Armour and Arms, i, fig. 140, an illustration from a psalter, c. 1200) and the later medieval types with a separate visor. It is, for example, regularly represented in the celebrated Maciejowski Bible, c. 1250 (S. Cockerell, *A Book of Old Testament Illustrations from a French Manu-*

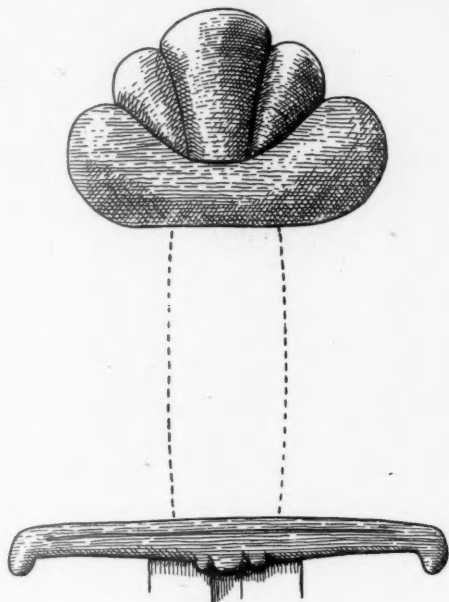


FIG. 1. Sword-hilt on the effigy of Robert of Normandy, c. 1290, in Gloucester Cathedral ($\frac{1}{2}$)

script in the Pierpont Morgan Library; cf. also the Chertsey tiles, H. Shaw, *Specimens of Tile Pavements drawn from existing authorities*, pl. xvii).

These two effigies belong to a small group of figures so alike as to suggest that they are the product of a single workshop. At least five examples survive in County Durham, all belonging to the closing years of the thirteenth century or to the first decade of the fourteenth:

1. Pittington churchyard—identified as Geoffrey fitz Geoffrey, c. 1280.
C. H. Hunter Blair, 'Medieval Effigies in the County of Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vi (1929), 13-16.
R. Surtees, *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol. i (1816), part ii, p. 116.
2. Whitworth churchyard—an unknown man, c. 1280-1300.
C. H. Hunter Blair, *loc. cit.*
R. Surtees, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 292.
C. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, pls. 24-5.

3. Hurworth church—an unknown man, *c.* 1300.
C. H. Hunter Blair, *loc. cit.*
- 4-5. Chester-le-Street church—two of the celebrated 'Lumley Warriors'.
The majority of these curious effigies were commissioned by John Lord Lumley in the sixteenth century; but these two, which bear the

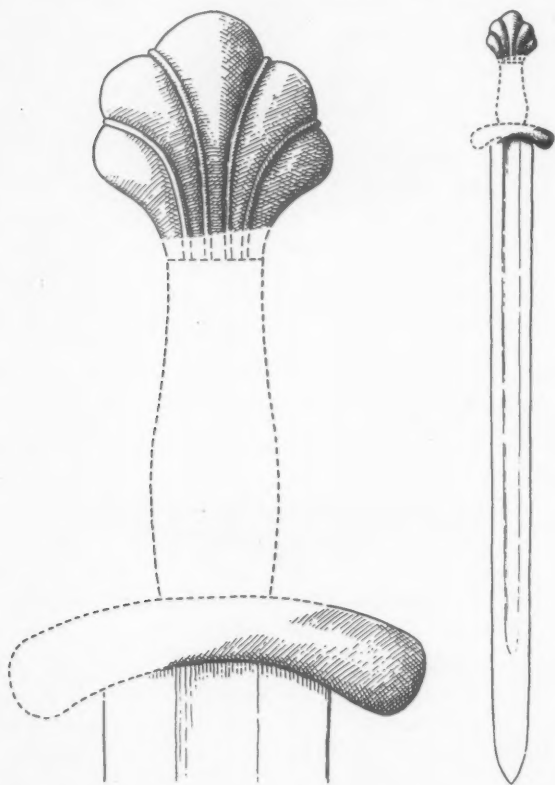


FIG. 2. Sword on an effigy in Furness Abbey, Lancs. ($\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$).

Lumley coat of arms and are usually identified as Marmaduke fitz Geoffrey, *c.* 1310, and John fitz Marmaduke, *c.* 1310, were procured on the same occasion from the churchyard of Durham Cathedral by gift of the Dean

C. H. Hunter Blair, *loc. cit.*

R. Surtees, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 139.

In only one case, on one of the Chester-le-Street effigies, can the form of the sword-pommel now be identified. Mr. H. Hancock, the curate-in-



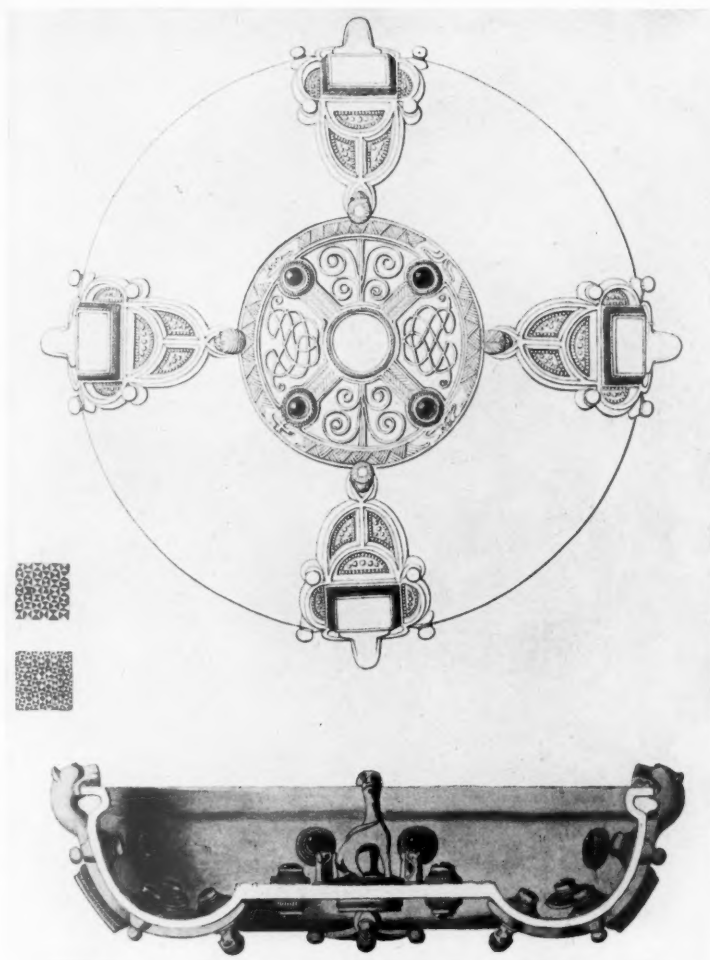
The Temple Pyx



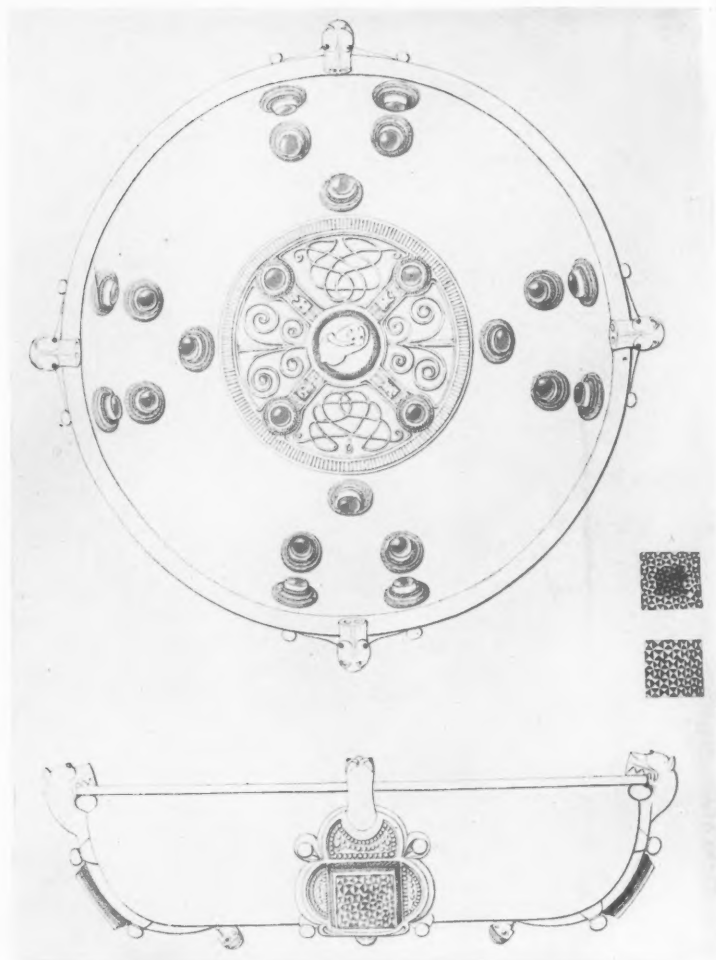
Christ Majesty found with the Temple Pyx



Figures found with the Temple Pyx



A Late Saxon hanging bowl (exterior and section)



A Late Saxon hanging bowl (interior and side view)

charge, has kindly confirmed the accuracy of Surtees' illustration, which depicts a very unusual pommel, consisting of a cone made up of two fat, rounded mouldings surmounted by a knob. It has been remarked elsewhere (*London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, p. 21) that the occurrence of various lobate forms of sword-pommel as late as the fourteenth century may reasonably be ascribed to the remote influence of Viking types. In the case of the Chester-le-Street effigy this derivation is made unusually clear by comparison with the closely related figure at Furness Abbey. The latter and its companion are the only members of the group so far identified outside Durham, and it would be interesting to know if others survive in neighbouring counties, and if so whether they depict swords of Viking type. Nowhere would the persistence of Viking forms be more likely.

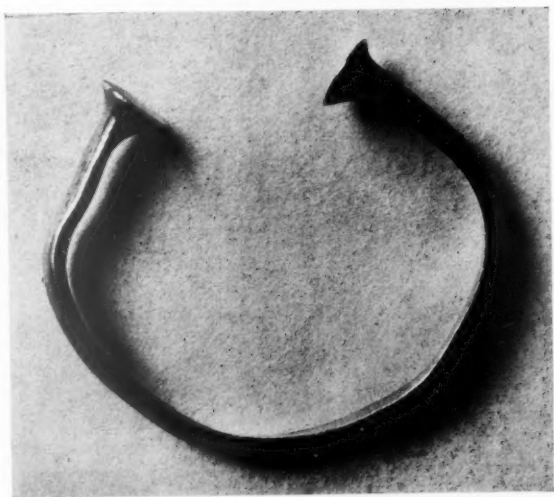
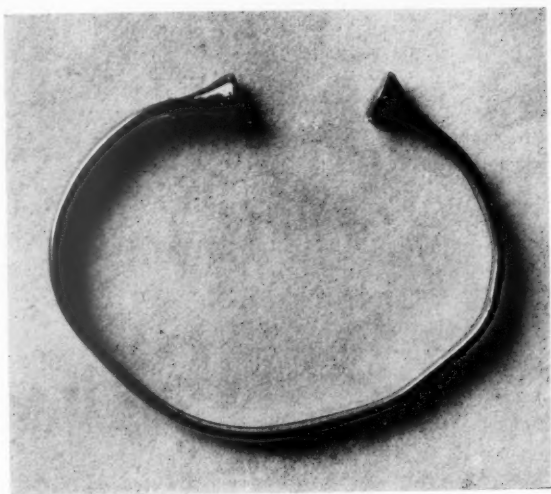
The Temple Pyx.—Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary, contributes this and the three following notes: Thanks to a chance discovery made during the selection of books for evacuation from the Society's Library, it is possible to carry the history of the Temple Pyx (*Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 51) farther back than the entry in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1833 which was hitherto believed to be the first mention of it. The new evidence is supplied by a water-colour drawing in one of the Society's scrap-books. This gives an admirable picture of the Pyx above the legend 'A Collection of Bronze figures, of the size of the Drawings, found in the Cabinet of the late Rev. Mr. Betham Fellow of Eton College, and apprehended to be taken from a Tomb-stone, of the age of William the Conqueror'. Edward Betham died in 1783, and the discovery of the Pyx is now known to have taken place before the nineteenth century. There is no confirmation of the story that it was found in the Temple Church, which was in any case only a 'said to have been' in 1833; but in compensation for this disappointment the unknown artist has figured five pieces found with the Pyx, evidently parts of the same shrine. These are (i) a Christ Majesty in an open figure-of-eight mandorla with supporting angels, obviously a companion mount in the same style and on the same scale as that bearing the three knights, two single figures, one a bearded man (ii) with half-turned head and lifted arms, as though himself a supporter, the other (iii) a beardless figure holding a book, (iv) a kneeling angel supporter, and (v) the upper portion of a flying angel with drapery in his hands. My purpose is simply to record these interesting finds, and the only comment that I can make at sight is that the newly published pieces certainly look English, and contradict my previously expressed opinion that the Temple Pyx is German. Nobody is more anxious than I am to claim the Pyx for our country, and I am looking forward to making a detailed study of the additional pieces with this end in view, and to hearing my colleagues' opinions about them. In the meantime, however, let us note that part of the English feel in the pictures may be due to the hand of the artist. I observe, for instance, that he has given an English look to the knights' faces which I think the original does not possess (see pls. xxxii, xxxiii).

A Late Saxon Hanging-Bowl. In the same scrap-book is a carefully executed coloured drawing (pls. xxxiv-xxxv) of a jewelled silver hanging-bowl that must be the most remarkable piece of pre-Conquest plate ever

found in England. It is described as a 'silver basin found in the River Witham near Lincoln and now in the possession of John Heywood Hawkins, Esq., of Bignor Park, Sussex'. Hawkins died in 1877 and was evidently a collector of some distinction (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* viii, 1856, pp. 283, 292, 307) and was once the owner of the Bignor ring (*Sussex Notes and Queries*, vii, 1938-9, p. 244), now in the possession of Martin Tupper, Esq. The bowl, which is about 6 in. in diameter, has four escutcheons inlaid with square plates of blue and white mosaic glass, each supporting a hook in the form of the neck and head of an animal that bites the rim of the vessel. The 'prints' on the bottom of the bowl, and inside it, are enriched with (?) embossed scrolls and interlace, enclosed in quadrants, and on the interior print stands a quadruped whose head reaches to the level of the rim, this charming little creature being surrounded by four erect animal-headed studs. The interior of the bowl is further ornamented with blue glass gems in filigree settings, of which twenty, in four groups of five, represent the rivet-heads of the escutcheons, while four, duplicated on the bottom of the bowl, cover the pins holding the prints in position. To place this piece quickly and in general terms, it is best described as a cross between the Ardagh Chalice and the Ormside Bowl, and I have little doubt that it is Mercian or Anglian work of the ninth century. It seems to me to be a supremely important and very precious antiquity, and in the hope that it may be traced, I hasten to publish the drawings without waiting for the result of the obvious inquiries that I am now trying to make. In view of all that has been written about hanging-bowls in the last few years, it is a little disconcerting to find that easily the most sumptuous and exciting of them all has escaped our notice.

Gold bracelets from Waddesden, Bucks.—The two prehistoric gold bracelets of the Late Bronze Age illustrated in the accompanying photograph (pl. xxxvi) were found probably about forty or fifty years ago on plough-land at Waddesden, Bucks. They are now in the possession of Captain J. H. S. Clark of Castle Close, Wareham, Dorset, who sent them to the British Museum for examination and has kindly allowed me to put them on record. The larger of the two (bottom) weighs 763.4 grains and has a maximum diameter of 2.7 in.; it is made of a solid gold bar of triangular section, flat on the inside and sharply keeled on the outside, that is $\frac{9}{32}$ in. high and $\frac{1}{8}$ in. thick; its trumpet-shaped terminals have flat ends. The second bracelet (top), weight 346.3 grains, is 2.7 in. in diameter, and is made of a thin band of gold with the interior edges slightly beaten over; the height of this band is $\frac{7}{32}$ in. and it is $\frac{1}{16}$ in. thick; the terminals are flat-ended. I do not know of any other discovery of Bronze Age gold on the Chilterns, and Captain Clark's bracelets are therefore an important addition to our distribution maps.

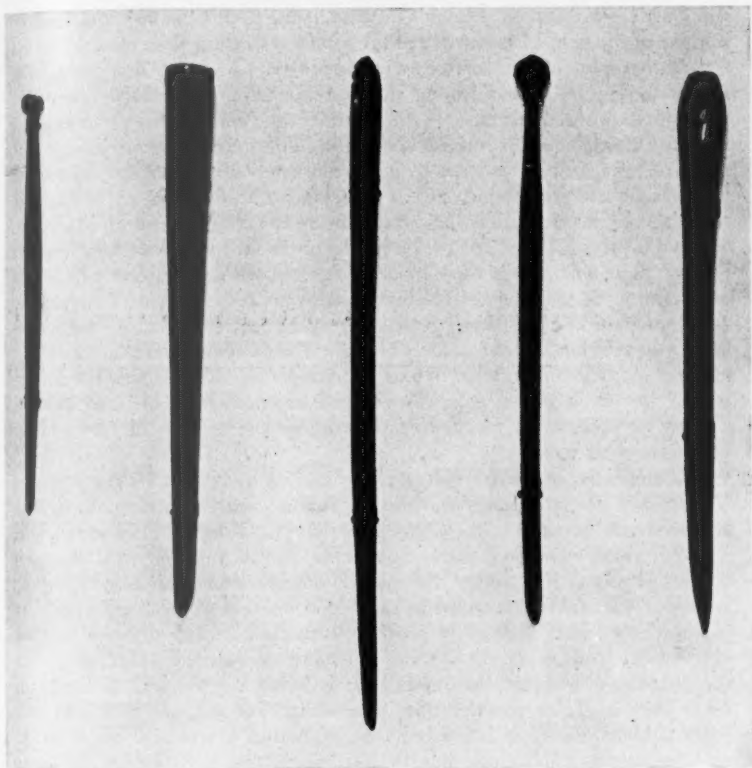
Bone pins found with the Cuerdale Treasure.—Through the kindness of Mr. J. R. Charnley of Preston I am able to reproduce a photograph of five bone pins that were found with the silver ingots, ornaments, and coins of the great tenth-century Cuerdale Treasure, which was discovered in 1840 near a ford across the Ribble close to Preston (*Archaeological Journ.* iv, 1847, 111, 189). There were over 10,000 coins and nearly 1,000 oz. of other



Gold bracelets from Waddesden (1)



silver enclosed in a leaden chest, and it is probable that these pins were the fastenings of the money-bags or of the parcels of broken pieces of silver. The longest pin (in the centre) is 4.4 in. in length, and the shortest (left) is 2.8 in.



Bone pins from the Cuerdale Treasure (slightly below $\frac{1}{2}$).

It will be observed that they are all of different types, one being perforated as a bodkin, but they are all alike in being excessively simple, and they have nothing to do with the elaborately ornamented pins that the Vikings occasionally used. On the other hand, the three pins with 'heads' are better made than the average utility bone pin from the Viking settlements, and are perhaps trying to attain the standards of the contemporary English or Irish metal pin. These Cuerdale pins have been in the possession of the Berkeley-Weld family at Leagram Hall, near Preston, since about the time of their discovery.

Obituary Notice

Major George William Graham Allen, died 24th November 1940. By the accidental death of Major G. W. G. Allen this country has lost, if not one of the first, certainly one of the foremost of those who have taken up air-photography in the service of archaeology. Major Allen, primarily interested in flying, was led by the work of others to observe first the phenomena around his base in the vicinity of Oxford, but gradually he widened his ambit as his interest and enthusiasm grew. The full extent and range of his activity it will not be possible to assess until the great collection of negatives and prints which he has bequeathed to the University of Oxford has in accordance with his wishes been transferred to the Ashmolean Museum.

No one who has seen any of the results of his skill will deny their superb quality; as in other things the standard he set himself was high; critical of his own efforts, he was the better able to judge success when he achieved it. His contribution to archaeology is in every respect remarkable; untrained and unversed in its lore, he quickly brought his essentially practical mind and a large fund of common sense to bear upon its problems. Nor was he content merely to record photographically what he observed from the air. Where possible he checked his results by field-work on the ground, thereby adding greatly to their value.

His most intensive work was naturally carried out in the Upper Thames Valley, and he has left behind him an almost complete air-record of the archaeological remains in the Oxford district, providing material which will suffice to occupy and facilitate archaeological research in that area, one may say, for generations to come. But this was not the limit of his activity; again and again he readily responded to calls upon his skill to aid the progress of exploration in other parts of the country, even extending his flights with that object to the continent. At all times he generously placed his photographs at the disposal of students and others both at home and abroad. It needs no more than a glance through the *Antiquaries Journal*, *Archaeologia*, and other publications of the late decade, too numerous to cite in detail, in order to appreciate the enormous debt that archaeological research already owes and long will owe to his assistance, rendered all the greater by the high quality of his work. In addition, in his lifetime he ungrudgingly and widely imparted to others the valuable experience he had acquired in lectures and also in a modest degree in print, and there is little doubt that had he been spared we should eventually have had from his pen a larger monograph, which would unquestionably have reached a high standard of scientific achievement.

This tribute would be incomplete, if it did not place on record some appreciation, however inadequate, of the man. Those who had come into contact with Major Allen cannot have failed to be attracted by his unassuming, genial charm. A deplorable accident has untimely deprived this country not only of a brilliant exponent of air-photography, but what is more, of a personality which will long be missed by those who were privileged to work with him and enjoy his friendship.

Major Allen was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1936.

Reviews

Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles. By V. GORDON CHILDE. 9 X 6½. Pp. xiv + 274. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1940. 20s.

The unexampled archaeological activity in Britain in the period between the Great Wars made all the available hand- or text-books on British prehistory out of date; at the same time the popularity of the subject increased the demand for accurate and well-documented studies. Such was the dearth that Mr. W. F. Grimes's 1939 *Guide to the Collection illustrating the Prehistory of Wales*, though a regional study, was eagerly seized upon by the reviewers as providing such a text-book; as was Messrs. Kendrick and Hawkes's 1931 *Survey of Archaeology in England and Wales*, though it also was strictly localized (not in space, but in time).

The immensity and persistence of the flood of new knowledge has deterred those who might have attempted a synthesis of our prehistory; and when the second war came it seemed as though we must wait years longer for what we needed so badly: for even if a competent scholar devoted himself to the task, what chance would the resultant work have of publication under war conditions?

But in these gloomy cogitations we reckoned without our Fellow Professor Childe. 'The war', he remarks in his preface, 'having largely arrested discovery, offers a breathing space for digestion.' And he presents us, within a year of the outbreak, with a synthesis of a range greater than we could have hoped: The Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles, no less; with the Orkneys as much in the picture as Cornwall. To include Ireland was a gallant act in the present state of our knowledge, and the treatment is necessarily less detailed than is that of Britain; but the effort was well worth while, for experience has shown how impossible it is to keep Ireland out of any adequate study of British prehistoric problems, and the author's work emphasizes this. Let it then be said at the outset that Professor Childe has brilliantly achieved what he essayed; that he has provided us with an invaluable text-book; his work is a mosaic in which every piece of sound research carried out in these islands up to 1939 finds its place, and is fully documented. In such a study the author's mastery of the prehistoric archaeology of the continent is of particular value, as is his personal preoccupation with the Highland Zone of Britain. He can and does survey the cultures and achievements of the Lowland Zone with detachment; though he may concede it to be the most important region, he does not permit it to dominate the rest.

It is not likely that anyone would have guessed that a book on the prehistory of the British Isles would have such a title as 'Prehistoric Communities', but an individual approach is to be expected from Professor Childe and one's first interest is to appreciate what that approach is. Prehistory, he remarks, can recognize *peoples* or communities, and marshal them on the stage to take the place of the *persons* who form the historians' troupe. This

recognition is obtained by classifying archaeological material, which represents the cultures of groups or communities. Comparison of a given group with others prior, contemporaneous, or later, permits us to evaluate that group's role in our insular history.

The reviewer, who based a regional study of East Anglia on similar ideas in 1933, cannot but be delighted to see a large-scale treatment of prehistory formed on them. Professor Childe gives adequate expression also to another notion that has been in the air for some time: that continental cultures are not transplanted pure, but being built up on this side by small accretions, thanks to the sea barrier, are blended one with another, as well as adapted to our insular environment.

The second chapter of the book, a 'Survey of the Forest Period', precedes an account of the 'Neolithic Revolution', which is chiefly concerned with the Windmill Hill culture. The 'Megalithic Religion' which follows is brilliantly and fully treated; the variations in the design of collective tombs are discussed with refreshing novelty as manifestations of heterodoxy or orthodoxy. To those who might remark 'we do not know whether the ritual varied or not' he retorts—'you need not wait for the service to distinguish an Orthodox basilica from a Roman Catholic church'.

In 'Hunters and Herdsmen', the Peterborough culture, an 'essentially mesolithic economy' is well analysed, as (of course) is the pastoral Skara Brae culture of the Orkneys ('Neolithic C'). In the 'Beaker Folk' the theme presented is that of 'warlike invaders imbued with domineering habits and an appreciation of weapons and ornaments which inspired them to impose sufficient political unity on their new domain for some economic unification to follow'. In an interesting paragraph he suggests that the reason why the traditions of Peterborough reasserted themselves when the effects of the beaker invasion worked themselves out, while those of Windmill Hill passed away, was that the former peoples, being less agricultural, did not compete for land with the new-comers, and so survived. Professor Childe takes it for granted that round-heeled riveted knife daggers could be imported from Ireland by the beaker folk. But the requisite evidence is lacking, for such tools are conspicuously absent in the national collections in Dublin, where hundreds of flat axes and dozens of halberds can be seen by the student. The only mould for such daggers known in Ireland may be as secondary a phenomenon as the moulds for flat axes in Scotland.

A useful survey of Stonehenge, Woodhenge, and other like monuments includes the pronouncement 'no circle is demonstrably older than the beaker invasion'.

The 'Results of Fusion' comprises a study of Food Vessel culture with which was associated 'magico-religious art and symbolism' probably adopted from the Boyne megalith societies; and this is followed by a survey of the 'Wessex Culture and the Urn Folk', in which Piggott's synthesis and views are fully set out. Our author, however, considers that Piggott's 'invasion' may have been reversed—to and not from Armorica. By the way, can one safely say that, in 1500 B.C., tin for beads found in Wessex graves was 'naturally brought from Cornwall'?

The Urn Folk, are of course, the users of overhanging-rim urns which

have so wide a distribution in the British Isles. Several workers have demonstrated that the spread of the cremation culture in certain regions of Britain was due to a movement of people rather than ideas; and Professor Childe gives reasons for the belief that this is true for the whole country, as well as northern Ireland. But the probable dual or multiple origin of the OHR urn renders the problem of expansion somewhat more complex than appears in his text.

The 'Oldest Industry and Trade of Britain', a study of the development of metal-working, is full of good points, including a reasoned opinion that an industrial revolution initiated the Late Bronze Age, not an invasion. 'Well-balanced mixed farming' replaced scratch agriculture, the exponents of the new technique being the Deverel-Rimbury folk: who were followed by Iron Age A invaders. This age is covered by chapters on the 'La Tène Invasions', on 'Celtic Traders', and on 'Germans, Celts, and Picts'; the last includes a competent review of the present position of the Celtic Question.

That this book should have been written in Edinburgh rather than in London has been hailed as an advantage: only in respect of the Iron Age could it be suggested that the author has failed to do justice to the south British cultural region. His Iron Age map shows all the (vitrified) forts in northern Britain but no southern defensive sites; he figures two plans of Iron Age forts, Finavon, barely an acre in area, and Chun Castle, about the same. The succession of massive and extensive multivallate fortresses crowning the hills of southern Britain and the marches of Wales is an astonishing manifestation of social and economic coherence among prehistoric communities; not only does this achievement lack illustration, but it seems inadequately weighted in the text. The summary of the Belgic period suffers from compression. The remark that Verulamium, Camulodunum, and Calleva were 'economically truly urban—centres of specialized industries and far-flung trade' needs, having regard to the scanty archaeological record, fuller explanation to avoid being misleading.

A minor point of criticism is concerned with names. Too many place and personal names in the book are mis-spelt, e.g. Whitham (Witham), Cranbourne (Cranborne), Cunobellinus.

Nothing has yet been said with reference to Professor Childe's chronological system. The marshalling of so great a variety of cultures into a coherent story presents problems of great difficulty, one of which is the demonstration of time-lag in respect of given cultures as between north and south Britain; and to aid in the appreciation of chronological relationships the author introduces a series of periods, I to IX, based on the southern British sequence as defined by pottery. But there are many cracks in the structure thus erected, which need not be detailed since Professor Childe himself refers to its obvious drawbacks. And it is perhaps an advantage that neither the chapter headings nor the text are closely integrated with it.

Finally, the reviewer feels that in carrying out his duty of critical appraisal he may not adequately have expressed the appreciation of, and admiration for, Professor Childe's book, which will be felt by all who work or teach in the field of British Prehistory. Let this paragraph then make due amends. Unwearying industry, the masterly grasp of essentials in a maze of

detail, the wide range of vision (manifested, *inter alia*, in the extensive use of continental parallels), the originality of thought, the excellence of his matured style, his independence and integrity, his unstinted recognition of other men's contributions to the building he has erected—these shining qualities claim our grateful thanks.

CYRIL FOX

A Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon, Monmouthshire. By V. E. NASH-WILLIAMS, M.A., F.S.A. 9½ × 7. Pp. 33, 15 plates, 5 text-figures, 3 maps. National Museum of Wales, 1940. 2s.

Archaeologists have often been accused of using a jargon that is only intelligible within the restricted circle of the initiated, and therefore of failing to satisfy the proper curiosity of the general public from whom they had extorted financial support for their excavations. If there ever were truth in this accusation, it could certainly not be maintained in the face of this admirable booklet, in which a skilled excavator has undertaken with signal success the predigestion necessary to render his results readily assimilable by the general reader. Nor has vulgarization or over-simplification crept in during the process. In the narrow compass of 33 pages are reviewed the history of the Roman Conquest of Wales, the results of twelve years almost continuous excavation of 'one of the most famous Roman sites in these islands', to which is added an account of the IInd Augustan Legion. To the many splendid illustrations, already known to readers of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, are added three full-page reconstruction drawings from the skilful pen of Mr. Alan Sorrell, and, conveniently placed in a pocket in the end cover, three superb maps, printed in two colours. Printing and format are so good that the book is a pleasure to handle, and the whole is offered at a price that is only made possible by collaboration with a great National Museum and a University Press.

If a word of criticism may be offered, it concerns the relation of the illustrations to the text. Several of these—for instance, the interesting pipe-burial of plate XIII—are not specifically mentioned in the letterpress. The two excellent full-page reproductions from the Trajan Column are nowhere referred to their origin, nor is it made clear, as it should have been, that the legionaries on plate II are building a temporary camp of turf with a timber rampart wall to defend ranks of leather tents, and not the stone wall of a permanent fortress like Caerleon. There are a few things that one would wish to see altered in the admirable reconstructions of garrison life in the fortress and amphitheatre, but the liveliness and even humour of the drawings more than atone for these details. Our warmest thanks are due to Mr. Nash-Williams, the National Museum of Wales, and the Press Board of the University of Wales, who have given us a model that should inspire many imitators.

P. C.

Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln. Vol. V. Edited by KATHLEEN MAJOR, M.A., B.Litt., on the plan laid down by the late Charles Wilmer Foster. 10¾ × 6¾. Pp. xxviii + 249. The Lincoln Record Society, vol. xxxiv, 1940.

Miss Major has produced another part of this great register with zealous

promptitude and unflagging scholarship. She has made only one concession to the times in which we live; there are no illustrative plates; they are to appear in a portfolio with a subsequent part. This is, no doubt, inevitable; but it is a pity, since to the reader of average indolence a plate in the hand is worth two in a portfolio.

Both in space and time the scope of the volume is very narrow. Like Gaul, Lincolnshire is divided into three parts; like Yorkshire, one of these parts, Lindsey, is divided into three Ridings; the South Riding contains eight wapentakes, of which it covers only two, Wraggoe and Louthesk. A very large majority of the deeds are dated about 1200; and it would be interesting to know the reason why the church of Lincoln was so active at this time in adding to its possessions. St. Hugh died in 1200; and the closing years of the rule of a saint are unlikely to be a period of land-grabbing. After his death there was for several years, as often happened, a vacancy in the see while interests were in conflict; and then, too, an accrual of temporal possessions would be unlikely.

Within these extremely narrow boundaries some two hundred documents are given in full with diplomatic apparatus, variant readings, and dating notes. They are full of names of persons and places in a score of parishes, notably Saltfleetby, Somercotes, Hainton, Grainthorpe, Burgh on Bain, Benniworth, Holton, Rand, Skidbrook and Withcall. The labours of the future editor of the Victoria County History may or may not be simplified; it is certain that the editor of the Place-Name Society's volume will have many words hitherto unknown to explain.

Some readers may regret that the editor has not always given her persons the names by which they were known. Matilda, Reginald and Nigel are modern Wardour-Street retranslations; there is no doubt that in the thirteenth century the people concerned answered to the names of Maud, Reynold and Neal. Bevis, Drew, Otes and Doun are, at least, more euphonious than Bogo, Drogo, Odo and Dodo. Brave consistency would even write Harry for Henry on the evidence of the patronymics, Harris and Harrison. The variants of Jarpenvill are a little suspicious. It is better, as far as it is possible, to read what the scribe ought to have written than what he, at first sight, appears to have written; the medieval minim is very accommodating and should be persuaded to give place-names their correct termination. On these grounds Gerninville and Jarkenvill are preferable to Gerumville and Jarkemull; but it may be that for once in a way the grouping of the minims was so obvious that a conscientious editor had no option. A possible misprint has been noticed on p. 201.

These criticisms are trivial and do not affect the value of the book, which is a model of its kind.

C. T. F.

Camden Miscellany, vol. xvii. 8½×6½. Pp. xx+72; x+29; xiv+55.

Camden Third Series, vol. lxiv. London: Royal Historical Society, 1940.

The current volume of this *Miscellany* contains only three short texts, since this series is more or less an extraordinary addition to the Camden Series, which probably contains more historical texts published between 1840

and 1940 than any other British historical society has rescued from oblivion or destruction. The first of the three texts published here relates to the famous priory of Ely, which is once more fortunate in its editors or collaborators. Here Mr. Seiriol Evans describes some interesting 'Chapter Ordinances' and 'Visitation Records' dating from the middle of the thirteenth century and to-day there are many historians and antiquaries who will be grateful for the survival of these instructive documents which are carefully described here, together with very helpful references to the parallel records of other houses and to the comments of editors like Dr. Rose Graham, Mr. Pantin, and Dr. Coulton. There is another aspect which may be elaborated hereafter, namely, the respective interests of the Prior, the Chapter, and the Obedientiaries.

The second text included in this volume is the curious account of an over-land journey to Constantinople in 1589, attributed to Sir Harry Cavenish, younger son of the founder of the Chatsworth line. Some credit for this composition must, however, be given to his steward (possibly) Fox, of whom some further notice might be welcomed. The description of the manners and customs of the 'Jarinaus', 'Bulgars' and other denizens is delightful in its naïveté, culminating in a spirited appreciation of the Great Turk's harem at Constantinople. The mercantile littoral of the Mediterranean is familiar ground to Dr. Wood, who believes that this manuscript remained at Hardwick and Chatsworth unpublished, but at least it has now received adequate notice.

The third text is edited by an American professor who edited some pathetic notices of Sir John Eliot's last days as a State prisoner for the previous volume of the Camden Miscellany. Those materials were drawn from the manuscript collection at Port Eliot; but these deal with an earlier misadventure arising from Eliot's alleged mismanagement of the profits due to his patron the Duke of Buckingham from the Vice-Admiralty Court of South Devon, at Totnes. Attention has been called recently to the buried treasure of the archaic vice-admiralty courts of Britain and her colonial possessions, and Dr. Hulme's scholarly contribution will assist local antiquaries in the preservation of such documents in war-time.

H. H.

Alalakh and Chronology. By SIDNEY SMITH. 9×6. Pp. iv+52. London: Luzac, 1940. 5s.

Most authorities are agreed upon the chronology of Egypt, at any rate after 3000 B.C.; there is, however, no such unanimity about the chronology of Mesopotamia. This is an attempt to supply a reliable basis for some three centuries.

During 1938 and 1939 Sir Leonard Woolley was excavating at 'Atshanah in Syria, the ancient Alalakh, and here he found, not only a great quantity of stratified potsherds, but a number of cuneiform texts. These have been studied by Mr. Sidney Smith, though recent events have interrupted these studies before their completion. Mr. Smith has, however, thought it wise to issue an interim report.

Mr. Smith begins by discussing the types of pottery found in the different

layers at Alalakh, and comparing them with the wares from the corresponding layers at Erech, Chagar Bazar, Tall Billa, and Nuzu. From this evidence he concludes that levels vii and vi at Alalakh cover the period from 1800 to 1600 B.C.

The writer then discusses evidence relating to Hittite kings, to the First Dynasty of Babylon, to the kings of Maer and to the Kassite dynasty. From all of these sources he draws some tentative conclusions, and then plunges into abstruse astronomical data concerned with the rising of Venus. As a result of these converging lines of evidence the author has produced a chronological table of the kings of the First Babylonian dynasty, beginning with Sumu-abu, 1894-1881, Khammurabi, the sixth king, 1792-1750, while Samsi-ditana, the last monarch of this line, is placed between 1625 and 1595. When we compare these dates with those given in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2225-2211, 2123-2081, 1956-1926, we shall realize how much they have been brought down.

The necessity for placing the material from Alalakh in a place of safety had made it impossible to complete the work of examination; the chronology advanced is, therefore, provisional. The shortage of paper has compelled the writer to adopt an abbreviated style; this, and the complexity of the subject, make the paper difficult reading.

It is to be hoped that when times again become normal, the material has been withdrawn from concealment, and there is an ample supply of paper, the writer will give us a new version, revised and considerably extended, with charts showing the comparative levels under review, and giving in parallel columns, with their dates, the names of the kings of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, the Hittite Empire, and such other minor states as were existing at that time.

H. P.

Periodical Literature

Antiquity, December 1940:—The significance of the pentatonic scale in Scottish song, by E. C. Curwen; A croft in the Upper Nedd valley, Ystrad-felte, Brecknockshire, by Sir Cyril Fox; A geologist among the cairns, by F. J. North; Old English dead-fall traps, by J. Hornell; Archaeology in the Soviet Union, by H. Field and E. Prostov; The distribution of currency bars, by Sir Cyril Fox; Madras catamarans, by J. Hornell; A Viking ship-burial at Stranraer?, by E. C. Curwen; The white patination of black flint, by E. C. Curwen.

Archaeologia, vol. 88:—The excavations at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus, 1931-2, by P. Dikaio; Excavations at Viroconium, 1936-7, by Kathleen M. Kenyon; Luristan bronzes in the collection of Mr. Frank Savery, by S. Przeworski; The roof bosses in the cathedral and in the church of St. John the Baptist at Peterborough, and in the cathedral at Ripon, by C. J. P. Cave; Wall-paintings recently discovered in Worcestershire, by Elsie Matley Moore.

British Museum Quarterly, vol. 14, no. 4:—A Celtic linch-pin; The Arthur Hurst bequest of European porcelain and pottery; *Membra disiecta*, second series; Middle English devotional pieces; Some new Greek coins; A new Roman coin; Indian coins; Fifteenth-century Italian nielli and engravings; Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*.

The Burlington Magazine, November 1940:—Three illustrated Hariri manuscripts in the British Museum, by H. Buchthal; The export trade of furniture to continental America, by R. W. Symonds; The reliquary of St. Gertrude at Nivelles, by J. Lestocqoy.

December 1940:—Saxon art at Sutton Hoo, by T. D. Kendrick; The majolica painter Guido Durantino, by B. Rackham; The bishop's chair in St. Paul's cathedral, by R. W. Symonds.

January 1941:—The Scott collection of arms and armour, by J. G. Mann; The silver of the Dutch church, Austin Friars.

The Connoisseur, November 1940:—A burlesque band at Ranelagh in 1759, by B. Gardner; Provincial furniture of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, by R. W. Symonds; The influence of Europe on Japan and her textile art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by G. F. Wingfield Digby; An early tappit hen, by Lt.-Col. J. S. Bisset.

December 1940:—The riddles of the Queen of Sheba in Swiss and Alsatian tapestries, by Betty Kurth; Some twelfth-century animal carvings and their sources in the bestiaries, by Rev. A. H. Collins; Girdles, shoulder-belts and scarves, by C. R. Beard.

January 1941:—The Scott collection of arms and armour, by C. R. Beard; The chest and the coffer, by R. W. Symonds; British war medals, by C. G. E. Bunt; Medieval heraldic glass in Surrey churches, iii, by F. S. Eden.

The Geographical Journal, November 1940:—A hitherto unrecorded MS. map of Northamptonshire by John Norden, by E. Heawood.

History, December 1940:—Chronology, synchronology, and history, by A. F. Pollard; A saga of the Anglo-Saxons, by C. L. Wrenn; The decline and fall of English feudalism, by Helen M. Cam.

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, no. 53:—A protean clerk of the Commons, by A. F. Pollard; Duchy of Lancaster presentations, 1399-1485, by R. Somerville; Summaries of Theses, clxxxiii: The Hungerford family in the later Middle Ages, by J. L. Kirby.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th ser., vol. 23:—The historical bearing of Place-name studies: Anglo-Saxon heathenism, by Prof. F. M. Stenton; Early English and Gallic minsters, by Miss M. Deanesley; The relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest, by P. Grierson; Nationality and language in medieval England, by Prof. V. H. Galbraith; The English Coronation oath, by H. G. Richardson; The Duchy of Lancaster Council and Court of Duchy Chamber, by R. Somerville.

The English Historical Review, October 1940:—Grimbald of St. Bertin's, by P. Grierson; Manuscript Year Books for 1-10 Edward III (1327-37), by R. V. Rogers; The mission of Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff to Constantinople, 1885-87, by M. P. Hornik; Theological schools in medieval England, by A. G. Little; A household expense roll, 1328, by the late G. H. Fowler; The administration of gild property in Coventry in the fifteenth century, by L. Fox.

Iraq, vol. 7, part 2:—A selection from the cuneiform historical texts from Nineveh (1927-32), by R. Campbell Thompson; Ordeal by oath at Nuzi, by G. R. Driver and Sir John C. Miles.

Man, November 1940:—Modelled pot-fragments from Jebel Kosseir, Syria, by C. W. McEwan, with a note by M. E. L. Mallowan; Note on three Cypriote jugs in the Biblical Museum, Melbourne, by J. L. Myres.

Jan.-Feb. 1941:—Some parallel developments of the semi-lunar knife, by F. B. Steiner; Further notes on the uses in Spain of prehistoric stone implements as amulets, by W. L. Hildburgh.

The Mariner's Mirror, vol. 27, no. 1:—Sledge-flags: their origin and development, by H. G. Carr; The Greek trireme, by J. S. Morrison; The likenesses of Samuel Pepys, by E. Chappell; The sea-going *Mtepe* and *Dáu* of the Lamu archipelago, by J. Hornell; The Morrison myth, by H. S. Montgomery; The *Golden Hind* at Deptford, by R. C. Anderson; An Irish dug-out, by D. B. O'Connell.

Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society, vol. 7, part 7:—Brasses to the Arundell family at Mawgan-in-Pyder, Cornwall, by the late Mill Stephenson and R. H. Pearson; Brasses on the Continent, by H. K. Cameron.

Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1939-40:—Chinese lacquer, by S. Jenyns; Chinese glass, by W. B. Honey; Tê-Hua ware, by M. F. Farley; Chinese bronze mirrors from the district of Yüeh, by A. D. Brankston.

Palestine Exploration Quarterly, October 1940:—Megiddo: a review, by J. W. Crowfoot; The site of ancient Lachish, by D. W. Thomas; Some censer types from Palestine, by Grace M. Crowfoot; The Syro-Palestinian jar from Vounous, Cyprus, by G. E. Wright.

The Twenty-eighth volume of the Walpole Society:—English domestic embroidery patterns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by J. L. Nevinson; Thomas Patch (1752-82): notes on his life, together with a catalogue of his known works, by F. J. B. Watson; An account book of John Flaxman, R.A. (B.M. Add. MSS. 39, 784 BB), by E. Croft-Murray.

Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. 3, nos. 3-4:—The Este portrait by Roger van der Weyden, by E. Kantorowicz; The religious policy of Giordano Bruno, by F. A. Yates; Louis Machon's 'Apologie pour Machiavelle', 1643 and 1668, by K. T. Butler; 'Veritas filia temporis', by D. Gordon; An illustration by Holbein of the legend of Herkinbald, by C. Hodgson; A 'memento mori' among early Italian prints, by H. W. Janson; The title of Campanella's 'City of the Sun', by P. Treves; The Latin element in the English currency system, by G. Schmidt; The Duke of Wellington's funeral car, by L. Ettlinger.

Proceedings of the Bath and District branch of the Somerset Archaeological Society, 1940:—The abbey church of Bath, by Archdeacon S. A. Boyd; Notes on Widcombe church, by M. A. Green; Bath shipbuilding, by G. E. Farr; Roman houses at Camerton, Somerset, by Rt. Rev. Abbot Horne.

Cambridge Historical Journal, vol. 6, no. 3:—Edward I and Adolf of Nassau: a chapter of medieval diplomatic history, by G. Barraclough; The Audiencia of New Galicia in the sixteenth century, by J. H. Parry.

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, new ser., vol. 40:—The diary of Edward Jackson, vicar of Colton, for the year 1775, by T. S. Casson; The manor and advowson of Great Orton from 1369, by Rev. C. M. L. Bouch; Leonard Lowther, by Rev. C. M. L. Bouch; The descendants of William Lowther of the Rose, ii: the Lowthers of Great Orton, by Rev. C. M. L. Bouch; Report of the committee for prehistoric studies 1937-9, by J. E. Spence; Bronze Age connexions between the Lake district and Ireland, by C. I. Fell; Lynchets and a settlement, by T. Hay; Our early settlements and their physiographic setting, by T. Hay; An eighteenth-century company promoter, by F. J. Monkhouse; Some excavations in the Bewcastle district, by Miss K. S. Hodgson; A Leicester artist in our district, by T. Cann Hughes; King Arthur's Round Table: Final report with an appendix on the Little Round table, by G. Bersu.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 24, no. 2:—The evolution of

the art of printing in commemoration of the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of typography; Race and its meaning in Europe, by H. J. Fleure; A short account of the recently discovered copy of Edward Hall's 'Union of the Noble Houses of Lancaster and York', by A. Keen; The captivity of a royal witch: the household accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419-21, by A. R. Myers; Early navigation: its extent and importance, by E. Robertson; The Hatton Wood manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, by F. Taylor; Some manuscripts of the 'Libelle of Englysche Polycye', by F. Taylor.

Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, vol. 21, part 1:—Catalogue of the Library of Leicester Abbey, by M. R. James, edited by A. Hamilton Thompson; The Leicestershire country parson in the sixteenth century, by W. G. Hoskins; Old glass in Twycross church, by A. Herbert.

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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

Thursday, 30th January 1941, at 2.30 p.m. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the Chair.

The following were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for the year 1940: Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, Mr. Arthur Gardner, Mr. E. C. Ouvry, and Mr. E. S. M. Perowne.

Mr. F. Wormald, F.S.A., read a paper on Decorative Initial letters in English manuscripts, A.D. 900-1100.

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